Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-223
Friday
18 November 1994

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FBIS-EEU-94-223 *18 November 1994*

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Official Comments on Greek Minister's Statements

LD1711211494 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its statement last week welcomed the statement of Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, according to which the Greek side has not conditioned the talks with Albania with the setting free of the five Greek minority members. The Albanian side wished it was a sign of goodwill, something lacking by the Greek side, but Greek Foreign Minister Korolos Papoulias considered this as a misunderstanding by Mr. Arian Starova, the deputy foreign minister of Albania.

Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Starova said if Papoulias considers the statement of the spokesman of the Albanian Foreign Ministry as a misunderstanding, then we are to do with a reconfirmation of the rejection of the dialogue by Greece. What strikes me most in the statement of Papoulias, after his return from Rome, is not his surprise on my misunderstanding, but the ambiguity of his statement.

Albania welcomed the statement of Papoulias, published by ANA bulletin on 9 November 1994, according to which Greece is willing to overcome the problem with Albania and have a roundtable on this, and that Greece has not conditioned the resumption of the dialogue with the setting free of the five minority members. This idea is repeated and denied by Papoulias in his last statement, Starova said.

Assembly Deputies Discuss Cooperation With China

AU1711194894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] People's Assembly Deputy Chairmen Tomorr Malasi and Shaqir Vukaj received the delegation of the Great People's Assembly of the People's Republic of China [PRC], led by its chairman Buhe.

During the meeting, held in a spirit of friendship and understanding, Mr. Malasi expressed his pleasure regarding the good relations existing between our two countries. He assessed the visit of the PRC delegation as a further step in expanding and strengthening those relations. He then made a summary of reforms being carried out in Albania and the intensive and successful work of the People's Assembly.

In the name of the PRC delegation, Mr. Buhe expressed expressed thanks for the invitation and stressed that although China and Albania are physically distant from each other, true friendship exists between them. Our relations are developing appropriately. He stressed that the exchange of delegations of various levels has influenced the closeness of relations. Mr. Buhe went on to say that China respects Albania's political and economic orientation. The peaceful policy of the Albanian state is a factor of stability and peace in the Balkans.

After discussing the three phases in the development of reforms in China, he presented the work of the PRC parliament and the laws drafted to support the reforms.

The meeting stressed the need to exchange parliamentary experience and draft laws, something that will further strengthen cooperation between our two parliaments.

The PRC ambassador to our country, Tao Miaofa, also participated in the meeting.

'Important Step'

LD1711210294 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] An important step toward strengthening bilateral relations between Albania and the PRC, stated Shaqir Vukaj and Tomorr Malasi, vice chairmen of the Albanian parliament, after they had a meeting with a delegation of the People's Great Assembly of China headed by Bu He, its vice chairman. The Albanian and PRC parliamentarians considered Albanian-Chinese friendship as sincere and the bilateral relations are developing on a mutual basis. Bu said China appreciates the political and economic orientation of Albania and conceded the Albanian policy as a factor of peace and stability in the region. Both sides expressed their willingness to exchange the parliamentary experiences in the compilation of the laws, something that is to further strengthen the parliamentary cooperation.

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Arms Sales Said Reason for U.S. Move on Bosnia

AU1711152494 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 12 Nov 94 p 8

[Editorial: "Bosnia is Also Business"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Clinton's Administration obviously eased the arms embargo against the Muslims in Bosnia because the United States is urgently seeking markets for its arms. Arms sales have dropped by two-thirds in comparison with 1993.

With his decision Clinton inb effect released the Yugo-market for U.S. companies. Russia immediately warned that it would market its production in the Balkans. Apparently, West Europe will not be far behind.

Thus it appears that for the time being peace is not profitable for the world superpowers, at least until a new war that could swallow the accumulated arms, erupts somewhere.

BSP Leader Videnov Assesses Visit to Greece

AU1711174694 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 11 Nov 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, Bulgarian Socialist Party leader, by Rozalina Evdokimova; place and date not given: "Bulgaria's Future After Election Is Main Thing for BSP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Evdokimova] You returned from an official visit to Greece. What were the most important meetings you had?

[Videnov] I met Prime Minister Papandreou. The meetings with Foreign Minister Papoulias and the leadership of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement [PASOK] were very beneficial. Those were exceptionally important contacts that will be beneficial also in the future.

[Evdokimova] Your meetings with Andreas Papandreou were not only meetings with the Greek prime minister, but also meetings with the leader of a fraternal party. Could you tell us about the contents of your talks?

[Videnov] Three basic topics dominated the talks: Relations between Bulgaria and Greece as traditionally friendly countries, something to which our two parties have contributed greatly in the past and present stages of the Balkan process, and their role in strengthening peace in the region; relations between the two parties and their cooperation in leftist international organizations. Naturally, we also discussed bilateral relations between the two countries, which have yet to develop to the benefit of the two countries, and their Balkans policy and participation in all- European processes.

I would like to point out that both meetings were exceptionally important, and we prepared them for a long time. The Greek press broadly reported on the meetings.

I could also say that the leadership of PASOK is greatly interested in Bulgaria's upcoming election campaign, the social and economic policy that could be expected next year, and mainly in developing the traditionally good relations between the two countries. Bulgaria's Balkan policy and the attitude of the basic political parties toward security issues is an issue that greatly interests our hosts. We also discussed interparty relations insofar as our parties' government participation. I would like to stress again the importance of the two parties' relations along the lines of leftist international organizations. This issue was constantly alive in our talks with Mr. Papandreou. I think that as leading political forces in our respective countries we were both interested in exchanging opinions on this subject.

[Evdokimova] Mr. Papandreou is deputy chairman of the Socialist International. Was the issue of admitting the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] to the Socialist International invoked?

[Videnov] The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party represents Bulgaria in the Socialist International. Of course, the admission of other Bulgarian parties is possible. Mr. Papandreou is well- known with his firm position that the BSP also has a natural place in this authoritative international organization. He has substantial possibilities of influencing the issue, especially among German and Austrian Social Democrats. We are certain that we can relay on him in the future.

[Evdokimova] Is Mr. Papandreou prepared to greet you as Bulgaria's future prime minister at your next meeting?

[Videnov] He probably is prepared, but it remains to be seen whether the Bulgarian voters are prepared, because everything depends on them.

[Evdokimova] One last question: Where were you on 10 November five years ago [the date Todor Zhivkov's regime was toppled]?

[Videnov] I was at home and followed the events through the television. I think that the great majority of Bulgarians were in the same situation and now remember this date with mixed feelings, precisely as I do.

[Evdokimova] In addition to Moscow, where else will you visit before the elections?

[Videnov] I will visit western Europe, most probably Belgium or Germany. We will see, because there is not much time.

[Evdokimova] What topics will you bring up in those visits?

[Videnov] Bulgaria's future after the elections. This is the most important thing for the BSP and also interests our partners.

Talks With Serbia on Debt, Flight Resumption

AU1711192394 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Nov 94 p 15

[Report by Ralitsa Daskalova: "Serbs To Pay Bulgaria $12 Million in 1995"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 November Milcho Kovachev, minister of transportation, announced that by the end of 1995 the Yugoslav railroad system will pay a debt of $12 million to the Bulgarian State Railroad.

The debt has accumulated after the introduction of the Yugo- embargo. The Bulgarian State Railroad expected to receive about $17 million from the neighbors, but it appears that we will have to return $5 million for the repair of the wagons and for spare parts.

Some $6 million will be received from the Serbian treasury and railroad. We expect the first payments within one month. The Bulgarian Ministry of Transportation will negotiate on the mode of paying the other $6 million.

Initially, the chiefs of the Serbian railroad proposed to pay only $6 million, but our minister of transportation succeeded to double the amount.

Mr. Kovachev also explained that the Serbian railroad will assume the main burden of settling the debt, while the accounts with the other former Yugoslav republics will be settled later.

Resolving the problem with the debt has been delayed because the Serbs' main computer remained in Croatia and they could not calculate their debt.

"I was extremely surprised by the fact that the former minister of transportation was not interested in this problem, and did not try to resolve it," Mr. Kovachev said.

Revenue of 7.5 billion leva would guarantee the calm activity of the Bulgarian State Railroad during the winter.

Our civil aviation owes the Yugoslav airlines $6 million, it became clear at a meeting between the Bulgarian minister of transportation and his Serbian counterpart, Zoran Vujovic. However, the debt will not be balanced by the railroad debt. Talks will be conducted on the mode of paying the Bulgarian debt.

Next week experts from the two countries will begin talks on restoring flights between Sofia and Belgrade.

Moldova Allows Nuclear Fuel Transshipment

AU1711155794 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 14 Nov 94 p 11

["Staff report": "Moldova Allows Transportation of Nuclear Fuel for Bulgaria Through Its Territory"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 13 November, Nikita Shervashidze, chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, announced that Moldova has allowed the transportation of fresh nuclear fuel for the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant through its territory. By 20 November, we will receive provisional permission, an agreement on which was signed at the end of last week in Chisanau by the leaders of our power supply system and the Government of Moldova. However, the long-range agreement is yet to be prepared. Mr. Shervashidze also said that Moldova is prepared to review the issue of transporting the processed fuel from Bulgaria to Russia.

Last week, Moldova refused to allow a train with uranium cassettes for our country through its territory. Moldova explained its refusal by the lack of an agreement on the transshipment of nuclear fuel. The fuel is needed by the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, whose reactors will be switched off by the end of January for refueling. As a result, the chairman of the Power Supply Committee and the director of the National Electricity Company departed urgently for Moldova.

Nikita Shervashidze said that an agreement between Bulgaria, Russia, Ukraine, and Moldova is necessary in order to avoid such cases in the future. However, until such an agreement is prepared, the leadership of our power supply system will try to sign bilateral agreements. In February, the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant will need a new supply of nuclear fuel. Until then, we will have to sign a long-range agreement with Moldova, which is prepared to negotiate, Mr. Shervashidze said.

Mr. Shervashidze also said that we will negotiate with Ukraine not only on a long-range agreement on the transportation of nuclear fuel, but also for the monthly supply of 150,000 metric tons of coal.

Presidential Decrees Appoint New Generals

AU1711172594 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Nov 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "President Promotes Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev has issued Decree No. 244, according to which Georgi Vladimirov Lambov, chief secretary of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has been promoted to the rank of major general.

The president has issued Decrees No. 245 and No. 246, according to which Milcho Yordanov Bengarski and Vasil Lyubenov Plachkov, secretaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, have respectively been promoted to the rank of major general.

By Decree No. 247 the president has relieved Colonel Ivan Batsarov of the post of National Police director. By Decree No. 248 Colonel Khristo Dimitrov Gatsov has been appointed National Police director.

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Criticism of U.S. Envoy's 'Corruption' Comments

AU1711130394 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Nov 94 p 12

[Commentary by Jiri Leschtina: "Adrian Basora on Thin Ice"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While U.S. Ambassador Adrian Basora declares with regard to Czechs that they should refrain from conducting business as they did under communism, when corruption was common, these are harsh words, but he is, in the final analysis, right. However, when the ambassador, during a panel discussion on Czech-U.S. relations, said that the government should "adopt an energetic approach" in dealing with corruption on financial markets, he found himself dangerously on the verge of a diplomatic faux pas.

Although the U.S. ambassador denied the next day that he had exhorted the government to take any specific measures against corruption, he should have, in spite of this, skated much more elegantly on the thin ice, if for no other reason than that these issues were being discussed in connection with the Lizner affair, which, in the tumultuous preelection period, is provoking considerable tension on our political scene.

No one is denying that the Lizner affair should provide an incentive for our government circles to investigate whether the proceedings surrounding coupon privatization are secured against information leaks as well as the experts have been claiming up until now. Until it is clear what Jaroslav Lizner is actually accused of, the prime minister should adopt an unequivocal point of view and tell citizens what measures the government is taking to make sure that such cases are kept to a minimum.

On the other hand, if the U.S. ambassador is talking about "corruption on financial markets" in connection with the Czech Republic, he should state specifically which cases he has in mind. Hitherto, no preeminent financial scandal has been exposed in the Czech lands. As corruption is without doubt also a very "intimate" crime, which spreads imperceptibly, its detection is most exasperating for investigative bodies, even in the most advanced countries.

If Adrian Basora were just to talk about the treatment the U.S. Administration uses for the corruption scourge, it would be extraordinarily interesting and very diplomatic. Washington's ambassador would thus entirely avoid the hazard that his comments could be interpreted as a recommendation for the host government.

Klaus on Fall of Stock Market, U.S. Vote, EU

AU1711152294 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 11 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "European Union Should Adopt a New Maastricht II"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In today's regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, we deal with the fall of the stock market index, the Republicans' victory in the United States, Petr Havlik's departure from the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], and other topical events of the week.

[Krejci] The official stock market index has dropped 10 percent below this year's previous nadir in June, although a halting of the decline had been predicted. How do you explain this?

[Klaus] First, our nascent capital market is still a barely developed market. In economic terminology, we call this a "shallow market." It is absolutely premature to make any fundamental conclusions from its movements, and I, as Vaclav Klaus the economist, do not even follow its fluctuations. This means that I do not ascribe to them such weight as some other people may, and I do not think I am making a mistake because this market is in its embryonic stage. Second, the development is not all that absurd. Everyone who has read an economics textbook knows very well that interest rates and share prices always move in opposite directions. And we are beginning to live in a world of slightly rising interest rates today. This growth of interest rates, which does not surprise me, is not an expression of growing uncertainty in the Czech economy but a sign of the normal cyclical price and interest rate fluctuations occurring in phases of economic recovery. Unfortunately, everywhere in the world the phase of economic recovery tends to be accompanied rather by increasing prices and interest rates than by their decline. Interest rates decline at times of economic recession. In other words, long-term trends that are ahead of us and in which, in my opinion, prices and interest rates will fall have been briefly unsettled by a short-term trend of a rather opposite nature.

[Krejci] The Republicans won the election in the United States. How do you explain such a turn away from President Clinton's policies, and do you think this will have any impact on relations with the Czech Republic?

[Klaus] The United States is a politically healthy society and demonstrates that it possesses internal defensive mechanisms to balance things out. Something that is called a political cycle exists there. At the moment, when the pendulum swings too far to one side, counterpressures develop very quickly, pushing it back to the other side. This finds its expression, for example, in the disparate voting in presidential and Senate and congressional elections. I believe that what happened in this election was exactly this quite predictable phenomenon. In the political sense, it demonstrates the profound health of U.S. society. But this definitely will not have an immediate impact on relations with the Czech Republic precisely because of those subtle mechanisms and structures that balance things out and prevent some specific policy from moving too far in one direction.

[Krejci] Do you think such a cycle of pendulum movements should also now exist in our country, or only at some later date?

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[Klaus] This pendulum movement is a natural consequence of the development of a normal mature society, in which a political shift to the left or to the right essentially does not change the very essence of the political system but simply means marginal movements of 1 percent to the left or to the right. Unfortunately, we are not yet such a fully mature society, and the victory of a completely different ideology could therefore mean a fundamental intervention into the social, political, and economic systems. And that is something completely different.

[Krejci] Petr Havlik, former chief of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] Office, has left your party. He does not want to share responsibility for something with which he cannot identify. How do you feel about this and about the fact that he left with such great fanfare just before the elections?

[Klaus] Each of us has certain character traits. Some of us can bear our own victory and some not. I feel extremely sorry about it because I used to be very fond of Petr Havlik and actually still am, even though I have not spoken a word to him for months. It is known, I think, what credit he deserves for the ODS, and I will always repeat and emphasize that. I can say that his contribution to the ODS was fundamental, and I have and will have immense regard for this, notwithstanding the words he used on his departure. It is always difficult to leave political life and come to terms with it. [passage omitted]

[Krejci] Minister Vodicka said recently that pensioners should be given a sum of approximately 1,000 korunas toward the end of the year. But after yesterday's Cabinet meeting, you said that the government disagrees. Why?

[Klaus] The government is of the opinion that pensions, like anything else, must move in a systematic fashion instead of attempting such simple pre-Christmas or New Year's one-off gifts. That is not the right path. We all realize that, as a result of the accelerated price growth of recent months, especially of meat prices, the price index shot up faster than we had expected. Therefore, it would be more correct to carry out the indexation of pensions earlier than planned. But it is not the government's business to carry out the indexation of pensions, but parliament's. It must be carried out by means of a law and not by means of a one-off government resolution. At the same time, preparing a change of pensions means calculating the changes for millions of people, which really is a quite complex administrative matter that takes about four months.

We did not expect in July such an increase in meat prices as we have finally witnessed, and we therefore thought that 1 December would be the right moment to adjust pensions. This simply was not the case, and there is no way to change this now. The only conclusion is that the next indexation of pensions will not take place in late 1995, as we had originally reckoned, but definitely earlier. Minister Vodicka has therefore been commissioned to prepare material proposing alternatives and their timing.

[Krejci] You said that the Czech Republic should submit its application for EU membership in 1996. What do you think will be the main obstacles that will have to be overcome for us to be admitted?

[Klaus] There are two kinds of obstacles: on our side and on the EU side. I think that our task, rather than an obstacle, is not to fill out the application form perfectly but maximally to complete the political and economic transformation of the Czech Republic for us to really become compatible with the EU countries. We are striving for that with all our might. As far as the EU is concerned, it must find a new consensus about the EU itself: a consensus about how to continue, how to absorb or change the Maastricht era. All that will be the subject of extremely complicated discussions over the next two years, so that the 1996 intergovernmental conference will be able to adopt a new Maastricht II.

[Krejci] You said that the EU "must." Does this imply that, should it not do what it must, some doubts would arise on our part?

[Klaus] No. I really did not mean it that way. I am convinced that the EU knows that it is in a state of search and incompleteness. Talks with European statesmen keep convincing me that the EU knows about the necessity of taking this next step.

Klaus Views 'Success' of Democratic Reforms

LD1811005394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Statement by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus at the Valdstejn Palace in Prague; date not given—read by announcer]

[FBIS Translated Text] I must confess that I remember an evening five years ago quite vividly. I was coming from the railway station on my way home to the Prosek housing estate from a trip abroad. In front of our house, I met with my elder son, who was coming back from the students' demonstration. He was shocked. He was scared. He was trembling. He told me what had happened, describing the unexpected and incredible police brutality. And he concluded his story with the following, really authentic, statement: We children did what we could, and now it is the task of the adults to take over.

I hope we suceeded in taking over the torch and that, within the short period of five years, we suceeded in turning our country into a free society and market economy. I am deeply convinced that the results are good so far. I am aware of the fact that the achievements are different in different countries of Central Europe and that they are probably better in this country than anywhere else. However, the entire Central European region has significantly moved forward. This is why I disagree with occasional categorical and unfounded statements that the success is below expectations. I have to argue that those commentators were either wrong in the past when they described communism as the embodiment of

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evil, the most undemocratic and inefficient system, or they are wrong now when they argue that it was possible to overcome the legacy of communism faster and, moreover, in a way they would like to impose upon us.

The ongoing transformation process has two slightly different sides. One is rather passive, the other active. Both are radical and revolutionary, both were based on a clear and transparent vision of the future, on the ability to sell this vision to the citizens of our country and on a pragmatic, rational, and certainly not simple transformation strategy. The distinction between these two sides is nevertheless important should one understand the logic of the whole process.

The passive—that is, the nonconstructivistic and noninterventionist side—is represented by a radical deregulation and liberalization. The political transformation was fully based on this. It was based on liberalization, on creating preconditions for free entry into the political market. We understood very soon that it was sufficient and that no direct measures were necessary, that it is not necessary to transform the existing political parties. This sounds simple, but it is not a trivial conclusion. The free space was very rapidly filled by new political entities, and the standard political structure, based on ideologically well-defined political parties, has already been developed.

The economic transformation was based on liberalization as well. It has been proved that deregulation of markets—that is, of prices, foreign trade, and private enterpreneurship—is necessary for the fundamental change of the system, but we realized that it is not sufficient. The transformation on this basis would last too long and would be too costly. It was therefore supplemented with positive transformation measures. Of them, a wide-ranging privatization was the most important one. In our country, we managed to implement the fastest and most extensive transfer of property rights ever carried out. It took a very special mix of standard and nonstandard privatization methods, and coupon privatization proved to be the catalyst of the whole process. Now, the transformation task is about to end. Nothing else is necessary.

However, some people would like to take advantage of the end of communism to create something more than merely a free society. They disagreed with our world vision five years ago, and it is not surprising that they continue to disagree with it now. It is not sufficient for them that, in our country, you merely have free citizens. They would like these citizens to be better citizens as well. They give the impression of knowing how to better us. They know what is wrong with all of us and why. We are too materialistic, too selfish, too shortsighted, too self-centered. Using my distinction of the above-mentioned passive and active transformation measures, they do not consider liberalization—that is, liberating an individual from various ties—to be sufficient. They want to transform not only social institutions and rules of their functioning, but also us.

I do agree with their criticism of excessive materialism, egoism, shortsightedness, and self-centrism. However, I do not agree with somebody trying to cure us of this. We have already experienced that. Violation of human nature with collectivism and statism resulted in our country several decades ago in an Orwellian world, and we are happy it is over. Violation of human nature by means of moralist, elitist, and perfectionist ambitions would result in a Huxleyan Brave New World, which would lead us to new complications. We have to continue our original struggle to form a truly free society. I believe we have done enough for this, and I am sure we will certainly suceed.

Minister Dyba: Privatization Program Complete

LD1711175094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] As of 14 November, there is nothing more in the Czech Republic to be privatized, Economy Minister Karel Dyba told the international seminar on creating capital markets in Central and East Europe, which started at Jiloviste near Prague today.

According to Minister Dyba, the major transformation step, privatization, has been completed. The minister also said that a balanced budget is another exceptionally important condition of a successful economic transition. In Dyba's view, the balanced budget is to be achieved not by raising taxes but primarily by cutting expenditures and restructuring the economic sphere.

Finance Minister Outlines Economic Strategy

LD1711150694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Kocarnik, deputy prime minister and minister of finance, outlined the Czech Republic's economic development at the beginning of the second day of the international forum entitled "The Rebirth of Central Europe Five Years after the Fall of Communism," which is taking place in the Hotel Atrium in Prague.

Kocarnik said that this year's growth in the GDP should slightly exceed 2 percent. Inflation should be about 10 percent, and unemployment should be below 4 percent. According to estimates, the state budget will show a slight surplus.

Minister Kocarnik also pointed out that the government's main strategy is the liberalization of all sectors of the economy and the lifting of all limits and of any kind of restriction.

He stressed that the government will also gradually relax the wage policy and that full convertibility of the koruna should be attained within a period of three years.

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Kovac, Turkmen President Discuss Cooperation

LD1711142594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov arrived this morning for an official visit to Slovakia, after having visited Austria and Romania. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Jan (?Snehula)] The current trip of Turkmenistan's president to Europe is connected with the beginning of the work on the international gas pipeline that will deliver Turkmen gas across Iran and Turkey to our continent. [passage omitted]

What was the Slovak president's assessment?

[Begin Kovac recording] Our conversation has demonstrated that there are vast unused possibilities in economic cooperation. I said that the Slovak Republic was ready to participate in some big projects that are currently under preparation in Turkmenistan. We are prepared to take part in the gas pipeline, which should lead from Turkmenistan across Iran and Turkey to European countries, and also in some big water programs in Turkmenistan. We have great possibilities regarding deliveries of machinery and technical equipment for the food industry. We are aware that Turkmenistan is a solvent state. As we have discovered in our discussions, Turkmenistan is a country that does not even need foreign credits. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Three Agreements Signed

LD1711211994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President of Turkmenistan Saparmurad Niyazov has begun a two-day official visit to Slovakia. [passage omitted]

Editor Jan Sniha reports: [passage omitted] Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov showed an unequivocal interest in cooperation with Slovakia.

[Begin Niyazov recording in Russian, fading into Slovak translation] After the disintegration of the USSR, we realized the need to directly develop mutual cooperation between the two independent states and to emphasize and strengthen our economic, political, and cultural relations. For example, with regard to the participation of Slovakia in the building of the gas pipeline from Turkmenistan across Iran and Turkey to Europe, it does not depend or money or on a number of credits. The financial package has already been put together. What is involved is the participation of your enterprises, which will be necessary in putting this major project into practice. The participation of your experts, your equipment, and your enterprises will be needed. [end recording]

[Sniha] The basic development of bilateral relations was confirmed by the signing of three joint documents: an agreement on trade, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation; an agreement on the protection of investments; and a protocol on cooperation between Foreign Ministries.

I interviewed Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik after he signed the documents.

[Begin Moravcik recording] We are not starting from zero because we are continuing with the system of agreements that existed between the former Soviet Union and the former Czechoslovak federation. We want to renew the basic documents according to the current situation so they may correspond to the nature of current relations. These are the fundamental pillars of the new system of agreements. We assume that, in the near future, there will be others. We are prepared any time to start intensive cooperation [words indistinct] our enterprises because for us it is interesting cooperation, mainly from the point of view of gas deliveries and cotton deliveries and from the point of view of setting up new enterprises. [end recording]

HZDS Blamed for Failed Coalition Talks

AU1711172794 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Idea of Broad Coalition Government Was Thwarted by Movement for a Democratic Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, NARODNA OBRODA published a statement by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Press and Information Office, stressing that it is not the HZDS that is renouncing responsibility for government formation but the signatories of the joint statement (Democratic Union, Christian Democratic Movement, and Party of the Democratic Left—editor's note). The Slovak Government Press and Information Department reacted to the HZDS statement:

The idea of a government coalition with the participation of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] was thwarted by the HZDS, which, during talks, put forward demands jeopardizing Slovakia's further democratic development. The parties making up the present government coalition naturally could not agree to this. Even the HZDS chairman himself acknowledged a few days ago that, since the 1992 elections, this movement has been unable to secure a stable majority in parliament on the basis of a coalition agreement. The manner of HZDS policy has been based on the exclusiveness of one man and on the inability to communicate with partners. In view of this, one has to be surprised by the "blindness" of the Slovak National Party and the Association of Workers of Slovakia, which helped the HZDS form a majority in the National Council of the Slovak Republic even though, according to HZDS representatives, they are not good enough to form with it also a government.

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The hypocrisy of the HZDS is laid bare by the fact that, even though it was precisely this movement that has by its undemocratic demands thwarted talks on the formation of a broader coalition, it is inviting individual parties for coalition talks. It is precisely this attitude that is driving Slovakia into a blind alley.

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of November 1989, the public should realize that, in many ways, the HZDS positions are reminiscent of the normalization steps taken by the communist regime in the years 1969-70. Precisely during these days, Slovak citizens should realize to which type of society they want to give space in the future, the Slovak Government Press and Information Department writes in its statement.

KDH Stands by Decision To Go Into Opposition

LD1711150994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The only talks the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is prepared to hold with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] are the talks about possible support for the new government that should be formed by HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar. This was stated at a news conference in Bratislava today by KDH Deputy Chairman Ivan Simko.

He said that the talks on KDH participation in Vladimir Meciar's government were not being considered and that the decision of the KDH to go into opposition could not be changed.

Might Offer Support to HZDS

AU1711141894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Promise in Extreme Case"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Ivan Simko, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], yesterday sent a letter to Sergej Kozlik, deputy chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. In the letter, Simko asked Kozlik to confirm in writing information that he received yesterday, according to which the HZDS has proposed talks on conditions under which the KDH would support an HZDS government. In the letter, Simko called attention to the fact that the second round of talks between KDH and HZDS delegations on possible participation in a coalition was held on 18 October. The KDH at the same time upholds the view that it is necessary to form a cabinet based on the results of the parliamentary elections as soon as possible. "In an extreme case, the KDH is ready to speed up the formation of such a government by promising to it, under agreed conditions, its deputies' support for some important laws in parliament," Ivan Simko writes.

SNS Rejects Portrayal as Extremist Party

LD1811152594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Our editor Ivana Zeliznakova interviews Eva Slavkovska, deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Party [SNS].

[Zeliznakova] Some foreign studies have ranked the SNS among such parties as, for example, Sladek's Republican Party [the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia] in the Czech Republic—that is, among extremist parties. What is your opinion on this?

[Slavkovska] We have received a report that the London-based institute of Jewish Affairs has put the SNS on the list of extremist institutions, arguing that the SNS is pursuing a racist and discriminatory employment policy, at the expense, naturally, of the Hungarian minority.

We believe that the only contributing influence behind this ranking was the policy of the mass media against Slovakia. Nobody from the London-based institute has ever talked to any representative of the SNS, and the institute has not tried to obtain any information about our activities or our program. I assume then that the institute does not have our program manifesto. Apparently, the decision is based solely on the information about the SNS published in the mass media before the elections.

[Zeliznakova] Where do you rank your party?

[Slavkovska] We maintain that we are a radical type of party, in the good sense of the word. We see our radicalism in the fact that we always criticize openly and vocally whatever we dislike on the political scene. [passage omitted]

[Zeliznakova] [passage omitted] Last week, Romania was singled out for having adopted a law banning the display of foreign countries' flags or the playing of foreign national anthems.

[Slavkovska] I believe that the possible future Slovak law on the protection of the Republic could include an article relating to something similar. We strongly believe that the situation on the territory of the Slovak Republic is also unsustainable [neunosna]. It is not appropriate to display Hungarian state flags and play the Hungarian national anthem in the southern regions of Slovakia.

SDL's Weiss Comments on Political Situation

AU1711211394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Nov 94 pp 1, 4

[First installment of an interview with SDL Chairman Peter Weiss by Julius Gembicky; place and date not given: "The HZDS Wants Us To View the Nocturnal Heavy-Booted Clobbering as Friendly Contact"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the 12 November session of the Republican Council of the SDL [Party of

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the Democratic Left], which made the categorical decision to end the talks with the HZDS-RSS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Farmers' Party of Slovakia] on forming a coalition government, we asked SDL Chairman Peter Weiss for a "bold" [chlapsky; expression used by the HZDS in its reaction to the SDL's decision] interview.

[Gembicky] Despite your decision, Mr. Chairman, the HZDS expects a bold statement from your party and thinks that, after the local elections, you could, in the end, alter Saturday's decision, stop being stupid, and sit down with them again at the negotiating table...

[Weiss] The decision made by the SDL Republican Council takes into consideration the unequivocal opinion of the party's membership base and our voters. We respect it; we listen to opinion from below. We would not like to lose our voter's base. All the talk about bold statements or about our not being stupid and coming to an agreement is intended to give the impression to people who are simply not in a position to have adequate information on the machinations of major politics that the HZDS is accommodating, that it is responsible, but does not have the conditions for assuming responsibility. The flaw in this is that the door on talks was slammed not by the SDL but by the means with which the HZDS is exercising power. V. Meciar says that the HZDS is not setting any conditions, but there are at least two here. They are both hard to swallow. The first is that we view the nocturnal heavy-booted clobbering in parliament as friendly contact. Moreover, they want us to pretend that nothing has happened and to accept everything—from the composition of the Mandate and Immunity Committee and the assumption of control over radio and television to the law that is at variance with the Constitution and the establishment of an investigative commission, which could become the basis for political trials. The HZDS pursues a policy of completed steps. However, the impression is being created among the public that this method of governing is not harmful to Slovakia. But, partners who disagree with this perception of democracy are made out to be irresponsible. The SDL Republican Council approved the text of its statement for the very reason we bear the responsibility for Slovakia. They also want us to join them, to create a constitutional majority in parliament so that they can get rid of the president and turn the system of parliamentary democracy into a presidential one. Moreover, they are frightening the citizens, which we witnessed on Kroky ["Steps"—television discussion program], by telling them what a difficult economic situation awaits us next year. At the same time, it is as if they have cast aside their preelection bons mots "There has been enough tightening of belts" and "The HZDS has the best program seen here for the past 20 years" and are placing the blame for all of our problems on the six months of activity by the government of which we were a part. Their aim is to create an impression of chaos, of threats to the citizens' vital interests so that someone can dub himself Slovakia's only savior.

[Gembicky] What kind of initiatives is the Common Choice Deputies' Club preparing in parliament? Why, first, a law on conflict of interests and on changing the rules of procedure? Perhaps because you neglected them during the last electoral term?

[Weiss] Proof that we did not neglect them is provided by the fact that the SDL was the first to push in parliament for a law on conflict of interests and also that we had prepared a draft for new rules of procedure, in which M. Ftacnik participated. We were the ones who wanted this approved during the previous electoral term. The HZDS and other partners rejected this offer. So, we did not create the difficulty. We are pushing for a tougher version of the law on conflict of interests so it simply cannot happen that someone does not sit in parliament for five months, takes part in only four votes during this period, receives his salary, and, at the same time, overbearingly criticizes the disorder in parliament.

[Gembicky] Nevertheless, how do you intend to force these proposals onto the agenda of the coming parliament sessions if you anticipate that the law on the protection of the Republic or the recommendation to reduce the term of office of the Constitutional Court will be much more important for the HZDS?

[Weiss] The SDL has adopted a negative stance on these objectives. We have sufficient resources in the Criminal Law and other norms to ensure that society is protected from activities that are anticonstitutional or oriented against state interests. A law on protecting the Republic could be another means of exerting pressure on political parties, deputies, the mass communications media, and journalists. Parliament should work on the constructive proposals that citizens have long been waiting for.

[Gembicky] In what direction are developments heading following your decision to end talks with the HZDS? Do you perhaps consider the parliamentary coalition to be sufficiently strong to form a governing coalition, one that would be stable for four years? Are you not reckoning with additional early elections by forcing the HZDS into a coalition with the SNS [Slovak National Party] and the ZRS [Association of Workers of Slovakia]?

[Weiss] The HZDS has slammed the door! It is up to it to review its stances if it wants to find further partners for negotiations. It already has two allies in parliament. These are parties that succeeded in the elections because of their harsh, unfair criticism of the government in which we were represented and, in particular, their criticism of the SDL as a party. We respect the election results; let them show that they can do things better. We also had 83 votes in parliament. It is possible to maintain a majority by good policy and not by administrative measures. The ZRS, which criticized the SDL for not pursuing a sufficiently left-wing policy, also now has the chance to prove that it will pursue it better than we did. We will only be glad if this government lasts for four years and if it fulfills its election promises. For example, if there is 6-to-7-percent growth in the gross domestic

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product by 1998. It is a political joke to talk about one parliamentary coalition and a different governing coalition.

[Gembicky] In the preliminary postelection analyses, you were criticized for abandoning the left-wing domain and neglecting the interests of the workers. How do you intend to rectify this? What is your current relationship with the ZRS, which has found itself in a parliamentary coalition with those with whom you do not intend to continue talks on forming a government?

[Weiss] We founded the Association of Workers. Its task was to bring the workers' issues into parliament via our club. The ZRS chairman was one of our deputies for four years, and he had all the scope necessary to assert their interests. The ZRS was established as an independent political entity at the time we got into government. At that time, it was possible to implement the workers' interests immediately through government policy. And, in view of the affinity between our programs and their origin, we offered them strategic cooperation based on four years of collaboration in the left-wing political domain—and in parliament, too. These two proposals were rejected by the ZRS. There are also workers among our ranks. We placed them at the top of our lists of candidates. Unfortunately, we did not get enough votes for them to get into parliament. However, we are preparing a special program to improve the living and working conditions of workers, especially of those who work in the almost 60 percent of loss-making state enterprises, where they are badly paid. We would like to combine their view with a certain macroeconomic overview. So, we offered them cooperation, and we responded to their 13 demands, but the ZRS itself has already begun to abandon some of them.

[Gembicky] One of Mr. Luptak's demands was the departure from parliament of certain deputies who had made antiworker statements. One of these deputies was, for example, [HZDS Deputy Chairwoman] O. Keltosova. Why then, on that parliamentary night, did he vote the way O. Keltosova instructed him to?

[Weiss] I will not comment on that. I would also prefer not to comment broadly on the fact that, in the spring, Mr. Luptak voted for J. Olej's election as chairman of the Supreme Inspection Office, only to recall him seven months later, his former party colleague, on the instructions of O. Keltosova.

Rally of 15,000 Calls For 'Real Democracy'

LD1711213294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] About 15,000 citizens gathered at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava today to mark the fifth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution.

The participants included students who had been present in 1989 at the outset of events, as well as the founders of the Public Against Violence movement and a number of artists and university teachers.

A statement by the student initiative group was read out at the rally. It draws attention to the fact that real democracy is not merely obedience to the power of the majority but also respect of the minority.

Students called on politicians to ensure that the forming of state bodies be based on a proportional principle and personality criteria. They also called on representatives of culture, media, churches, and civic associations to halt the rising wave of class and ethnic hatred.

At the end of the Bratislava rally, the organizers called for another rally to be held on 10 December, the International Day of Human Rights.

Student 'Manifesto' Read Out

LD1711230694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Under the slogan "We do not want violence," the participants of the students' commemoration rally held at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava paid tribute to the revolutionary events of November 1989. About 2,000 people gathered at this historic place well before the announced beginning of this meeting organized by the club of the Bratislava medical students together with other university faculties.

Reporter Peter Turcik was at the rally that began with the students' anthem, "Gaudeamus Igitur."

[Turcik] After the anthem, the presenters of the evening invited some of the key figures of the November events to the speakers' platform. [passage omitted]

Shortly before my departure, the Bratislava medical students' initiative group read its manifesto. The recording you are going to listen to was not made at the square tonight. It is a recording made on 15 November, after the news conference at the Faculty of Medicine. On both occasions, it was read by medical student Tomas Chalaj:

[Begin Chalaj recording] What we are doing and demanding we regard as our service to Slovakia. We therefore emphasize that we will prevent anyone from making us enemies of our country.

First, the development of democracy in our country ceased immediately after November 1989 had created the conditions for it. All of us are responsible for this, but, in particular, political parties and movements that have to answer to their voters about the state of our society. True democracy is not only obedience to the power of the majority but also respect for the minority. Only this enables everybody to take part in the life of the society by means of their opinions and work.

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Nowadays, whatever is presented to us as politics is, in fact, a power struggle among political parties and often only a struggle by individuals to achieve personal aims.

We demand that politicians implement the principle of proportional representation and expertise in the formation of important state bodies. Breaching these principle can only lead to wrongs and disappointments.

We appeal to Slovak citizens not to accept the confrontational way of conducting politics and to show by their attitudes that they can make up for the errors of those who pretend to be politicians.

Second, politics should serve citizens and not become an opportunity for gaining advantages. This is why we demand that the National Council of the Slovak Republic immediately adopt a law on conflict of interest and that the members of the representative bodies of state administration and other important bodies be obliged, both on taking office and on leaving it, to make a public declaration of their own assets and those of members of their families. This is the only way to prevent their abusing the powers they enjoy through the posts and positions they hold.

We also demand the drafting of such regulations governing competitions for high-level specialist posts as would make it impossible for political parties to influence the appointment process.

Third, we call on the representatives of culture, media, churches, civic associations, and professional bodies to halt the rising wave of class and ethnic hatred. [end recording]

TU Leaders Deny Plans for Mass Protest Rallies

AU1711160894 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "is": "For the Time Being, Trade Unions Are Not Preparing Any Protest Rallies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Speaking about the present political situation on the television discussion program "Kroky" [Steps] on 13 November, Prime Minister-Designate Vladimir Meciar said, among other things, that "the trade unions are ready and that the first trade union protest rallies will take place this week." We asked representatives of some trade unions whether they could confirm the words of the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]:

V. Stevko, vice president of the Confederation of Trade Unions of the Slovak Republic (KOZ SR): "Mr. Meciar did not discover America. In its statements, the KOZ SR has repeatedly been pointing out that political bickering without any results does not help to quickly resolve problems immediately affecting rank-and-file citizens. If problems in the economy and the social sphere are not tackled by specific steps, discontent may break out. However, it will not be initiated by the trade unions, although we will have to react to it when it arises. For the time being, the KOZ SR is not preparing any protest actions."

J. Blahak, chairman of the Chemistry trade union: "I do not know anything about it. I was probably just as surprised when I heard this as everyone else."

J. Krumpolec, chairman of the KOVO trade union [of metalworkers]: "I was surprised when Vladimir Meciar said this. The only thing I know is that trade unionists from the Podbrezova ironworks are planning a protest in front of the Government Office. It is to be directed against exports of scrap metal from the Slovak Republic in a situation when ironworks and steel mills must import it. The situation is not clear to us and raises a number of questions. First, why did the trade unionists and the management of the Sverma ironworks [of Podbrezova] not sound the alarm earlier to be able to deal with the situation? Second, why did they not try to settle it through the Union of Industry? Third, this problem has not been created by this government because scrap metal has been exported since about 1991. It is not clear to me why a protest against this is to be staged precisely at this time."

B. Majtan, chairman of the Wood-Forest-Water trade union: "So far, we have been dealing with problems caused by the economic recession at the level of the founder, the Ministry of Economy. No one has signaled to us any tough actions so far."

R. Horvath, chairman of the Construction trade union: "Mr. Meciar's statement on 'Kroky' has made me feel uneasy. I am not aware of any actions being prepared in either our trade union or any other."

E. Kucera, chairman of the trade union of agricultural workers: "We are not preparing any steps leading to any kind of strike alert. We concentrate on preparations of the draft state budget for 1995. As for Vladimir Meciar's words, he may have been interpreting the statements of some trade union leaders in reaction to the [contemplated] abolition of labor categories."

J. Kollar, chairman of the trade union of power-industry workers: "Our trade union is not preparing any steps, any rally or other protest actions. As regards the abolition of labor categories, we are exploring possible solutions, but we have not yet reached the stage where it would be possible to speak about pressure actions."

J. Estocin, chairman of the miners trade union: "I do not know what Meciar said. I did not watch 'Kroky.' We continue as planned. As we said in connection with the possible abolition of labor categories, we are waiting until 15 December. We have adequate steps ready."

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'Discontent' in KOVO Could Lead to Strikes

AU1711161094 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "eb": "Jaroslav Gruber, chairman of the General Council of the KOVO Trade Union in East Slovak Ironworks Kosice: Metalworkers Discontent Could Grow Into Strikes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—"There is heightened tension among members of the KOVO [Metalworkers] trade union these days. There are several reasons for it. Apprehension is aroused by the fact that government has not yet submitted to parliament the law on supplementary pension insurance, and there is confusion over the issue of labor categories. People are also concerned about problems related to next year's budget. There are fears that it will contain restrictive measures that will lead to another increase in the cost of living. Unrest is caused by growing housing rents, employers' unwillingness to accept employees' demands, low wages, the impact of the value-added tax on prices, and other problems," Jaroslav Gruber, chairman of the General Council of the KOVO trade union in the East Slovak Iron Works a.s. [VSZ] Kosice, said yesterday. VSZ Kosice employs the largest number of members of the KOVO trade union in Slovakia. Jaroslav Gruber confirmed to SME that greater expressions of metalworkers' discontent could be expected this week. "The problem is that the government has not adequately addressed the problem of scrap metal exports from the Slovak Republic. The present situation in this regard is untenable. We suppose that this issue will get on the agenda of today's government session; we asked Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik for it. If a solution to this problem is delayed, metalworkers from VSZ Kosice are ready to support the protest rally planned by ironworkers from Podbrezova in Bratislava at the end of this week." Jaroslav Gruber did not rule out that this week's first wave of metalworkers' discontent might grow into strikes in December.

Personnel Changes Alarm TU of Public Officials

LD1711180194 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The situation in the bodies of state administration and self-administration of towns and villages was discussed in Bratislava today by the Presidium of the Slovak Trade Union of Public Officials.

In a statement granted to TASR, they say that signs of possible politically motivated personnel changes are alarming. That is why they appeal to all of the main political forces to give a clear signal that they do not wish for this sort of policy. That signal, according to the Presidium of the Trade Union of Public Officials, should be the speedy passing of the law on the civil service.

FNM Allegedly Seeking Changes in Key Companies

AU1711141794 Bratislava SME in Slovak 12 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by "r": "National Property Fund Has Supposedly Initiated Extraordinary Meetings of Shareholders in Lucrative Companies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—One of the results of last week's meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic was the appointment of a new National Property Fund [FNM] Presidium. This institution, which, among other things, administers the state's stake in privatized shareholding companies, is now in the hands of the parliamentary Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Slovak National Party-Association of Workers of Slovakia [HZDS-SNS-ZRS] coalition. Citing a source that did not wish to be named, yesterday's Radio Journal reported that the FNM has supposedly initiated the calling of extraordinary meetings of shareholders in a number of shareholding companies. Supposedly, this concerns nine companies, including Investicna a Rozvojova Banka [Investment and Development Bank], Vseobecna Uverova Banka [General Credit Bank], Podnik Vypoctovej Techniky [Computer Technology Enterprise], Nafta Gbely, and Benzinol, whose shares have the highest value on the Bratislava stock market. According to valid legislation, extraordinary annual meetings can be requested by a minimum of 10 percent of shareholders. If such a request is made, these meetings must be called within 30 days. The FNM has supposedly prepared a single item for the meetings' agendas: changes in the composition of supervisory boards. According to Radio Journal, this could mean changes in the boards of directors and the posts of directors general of these companies. SNS Deputy Chairman Juraj Molnar, newly appointed member of the FNM Executive Committee, yesterday refused to comment on this issue for the radio, citing a busy work schedule.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 15 November on page 2 carries a 250-word "asa"-signed report entitled "Members of Supervisory Boards To Be Replaced at Extraordinary Meetings of Shareholders." According to the report, on 14 November, the following companies confirmed to SME reporters the receipt of letters from the FNM requesting the convening of extraordinary meetings of shareholders: Podnik Vypoctovej Techniky, Slovenska Poistovna (Slovak Insurance Company), Slovnaft, Vseobecna Uverova Banka, Benzinol, and Investicna a Rozvojova Banka. The SME report also confirms that, "according to preliminary information, the FNM wants to replace its representatives on the supervisory boards of these companies who are no longer FNM employees."]

Gabcikovo Regarded as Ecologically Unsafe

95CH0039B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 1 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Eva Munk: "Gabcikovo Threatens Wetlands and More"]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Gabcikovo—"The river?" says a farmer in the tiny village of Dobrohost, turning his eyes toward the marsh as if it held the ghost of a dead friend. He points to a gravel path running into silent woods.

The narrow trail meanders through stands of poplars and lush undergrowth, but only an occasional stagnant pool covered with a bright-green coat of algae hints at the former presence of water.

Three kilometers farther on, the Danube winds between tree-lined banks as it seems to have done for millennia.

But a 30-meter-wide beach, thick with dried-up mussel shells, tells a different tale.

Once the river was much higher—high enough to turn the wheel of the ancient water mill that stands on three-meter-high stilts at the river's edge and to flush the surrounding marshes with oxygen-rich water.

Here a mighty inland delta once split the Danube into hundreds of meandering branches, creating one of Europe's last marshes.

A concrete channel one kilometer to the north tells what happened next.

Two years ago, Slovakia diverted the Danube along the Hungarian border into a hydrological complex consisting of a 135-square-kilometer (52-square-mile) reservoir, a 40-kilometer (25-mile) elevated cement channel and a huge dam crowded with two hydroelectric turbines near the village of Gabcikovo.

What has occurred since man moved the river is a matter of debate between Slovakia on one bank and Hungary on the other. Both sides claim they have been proven right during the dam's first two years in operation.

Hungary, which pulled out of the 1977 project in 1992, says Slovakia is depriving a large Hungarian wetland of life-giving water and endangering the largest underground reservoir in Central Europe, a reservoir tapped by numerous Hungarian wells.

According to a March 1993 report issued by the Slovak Union of Nature Lovers and Landscape Protectors, "13,500 acres of Danube countryside that was very close to its natural, unspoiled state has already been destroyed," and roughly the same amount is threatened by the Gabcikovo complex.

The Slovak government says the project will, on the contrary, save the remaining wetlands, create a cleaner underground reservoir, improve navigation and provide a clean source of electricity.

According to Igor Mucha, who represents Slovakia for the company Ground Water Consulting, seepage from the reservoir has raised the water table, reducing the need for surface irrigation, which washes chemical fertilizers into the underground reservoir.

The Szigetkoz wetland, Mucha said, was already drying up, because natural riverbed erosion had lowered the water level, preventing water from reaching the dozens of meandering branches.

Periodic flooding from outlets in the channel, combined with a series of weirs to hold the water in place, will actually slow down the process and keep the marsh from drying out, he said.

Predictions by several international environmental organizations contradict Mucha's assertion. But nature has yet to prove either side conclusively right.

In December 1993, the World Wildlife Fund issued a statement saying that "two-thirds of the deformation and erosion processes" are caused by upriver gravel excavations used to build the Gabcikovo complex.

According to the WWF statement, "numerous informed sources" confirmed that, since summer 1993, the waterworks of Samorin reduced production to two-thirds and those in Kalinkovo stopped entirely.

On-site studies conducted by Slovak environmentalist Mikulas Lisicky show that migrating species are already being replaced by sedentary species in the marshes.

Recreational benefits, also pointed to by the Slovaks, have yet to be realized. The reservoir's shores are undeveloped, and it is hard to imagine any recreational activity on the steep cement banks of the channel.

According to a 1993 publication by Slovakia's main investor in the project, Water Management Construction Co., titled "The Gabcikovo Project—Saving the Danube's Inland Delta," the project "offers the population a variety of recreational water sports, tourism and, in the future, prospective territorial economic development and employment opportunities."

According to the WWF, nothing could be worse for the area.

At present, however, the project has actually had the opposite effect, isolating the inhabitants of three villages located between the channel and the old riverbed.

To reach services or even go shopping, locals, few of whom have cars, have to make a 100-kilometer bus trip around the project by way of Gabcikovo or Bratislava, or take a ferry at the midpoint of the 40-kilometer channel. The boat runs once every hour—when it runs at all.

Despite the mass of ecological studies the Hungarian Foreign Ministry continues to cite against the project, Slovakia claims that Hungary's interest is mainly territorial, as the shifting of the Danube could be interpreted as a corresponding shift of the border.

"That is absolutely wrong," said Istvan Torzsa, the commissioner in charge of the Gabcikovo project for Hungary.

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"The Paris peace accords state that the border is the midline of the old riverbed, and we do not want that to change. We are arguing that Slovakia has changed the character of the border."

Hungary has repeatedly tried and failed to come to an understanding with Slovakia as to the level of water the latter would release into the old riverbed, Torzsa said.

"In London, we agreed that 95 percent of the water would be returned (to the original riverbed), later we agreed to 60 percent and finally, to show good faith until the court reached a decision we agreed—reluctantly—with the European Union compromise solution of 40 percent, but Slovakia has rejected each recommendation. As of this time there is no water discharge regime to Hungary," Torsza said.

"The water in the riverbed would be sufficient if the Hungarians would let us build the weirs," said Mucha.

Both countries have agreed to take their dispute to the International Court of Justice in the Hague, which is expected to issue a verdict in late 1996.

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Szent-Ivanyi Views EU Membership, Visegrad

AU1711132294 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Ministry State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi by "D.P."; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NEPSZABADSAG] The European Union (EU) has not yet decided whether to invite Hungary to its December summit in Essen, Germany, Foreign Ministry State Secretary Istvan Szent-Ivanyi told NEPSZABADSAG.

[Szent-Ivanyi] We expect to receive an invitation and that the leaders of all associated countries will be able to participate. We have not experienced a clear refusal from the EU but we can sense some increase of uncertainty.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is the reason for this? Is it the reservations and counter-interests of the Mediterranean region, the Italians?

[Szent-Ivanyi] The busy agenda might be a reason, and that some EU countries are in favor of extending the EU and support the participation of the associated members while others believe it is too early to do so.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What about the northern countries? For example, the Swedes, who have just voted in favor of membership?

[Szent-Ivanyi] According to our information, in addition to Austria and Finland, Sweden will also support us because they are also in favor of extension.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will Austria's EU membership, which is to begin in January 1995, cause any problems in relations with Hungary? I am thinking about the border situation and economic relations.

[Szent-Ivanyi] Consultations have already been started on these issues. We suggested that only the citizens of the two countries should be able to use certain border stations. It is still a pending issue how to include the Hungarian advantages in the Austrian market, which were achieved within the framework of a former agreement with the European Free Trade Association, into the EU's system. Negotiations are under way but the EU will make the decision. As for bilateral economic relations, I am not expecting dramatic changes either in a positive or negative direction.

[NEPSZABADSAG] According to French newspaper information, the "Visegrad Four" is being refurbished under some patronage of Paris....

[Szent-Ivanyi] Hungarian foreign policy is unchanged. We are also ready to continue the cooperation within the framework of Visegrad but we do not look upon Visegrad as an alternative to joining Europe. We are attaching hope to the Poznan meeting in which the Hungarian prime minister will also participate. It is uncertain whether Slovakia will have a complete government by then. We welcome the fact that the meeting will mainly emphasize economic relations.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does the fact that France supports the cooperation of the Visegrad countries have any significance?

[Szent-Ivanyi] It does, from two points of view. On one hand, not all countries want the Visegrad cooperation equally; this initiative might act as an argument and might also encourage others countries for more active cooperation. On the other hand, France will be the EU president in 1995, therefore, its initiative can also be seen as a step taken within the EU's framework. It could be very useful if, in addition to the suggestions, we also received technical assistance to the implementation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Could this not preserve a multi-graded Europe, keeping us in the "infant group?"

[Szent-Ivanyi] This danger does exist. This is the reason I emphasized earlier that we are interested in the Visegrad cooperation as long as it does not hinder our EU membership. For the time being, I can see helpful intentions behind the proposal....

Official Comments on War Industry Department

LD1811001494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Interview with Jozsef Hegyhati, deputy state secretary in the Ministry of Industry, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] The Hungarian War Industry in Danger; The Army on the Verge of Bankruptcy; The War Industry Looking Ahead to a System-Change; Eastern Europe's Military in Ruins—Newspaper reports appeared in recent weeks and months with these and other similar titles, and they characterize well the existing situation. The reasons vary—for example, arms exports to Syria, Iraq, and Libya have considerably decreased. However, the greatest factor is the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty and the fact that the countries of the former Soviet Union no longer place orders with the Hungarian war industry.

This branch is generally characterized by the same recession which has swept through the entire Hungarian economy. Of course, ambitious plans were made for rescuing the Hungarian war industry, but the plans have remained plans, only, for the time being. The latter were prepared by Janos Isaszegi, former leader of the Office of War Industry, and by his colleagues. According to the submission, which was made public, the colonel had wanted 15.5 billion forints in one-time support from the state in order to bring about a recovery of the most important military plants.

The deputy state secretary in the Ministry of Industry, Jozsef Hegyhati, has held a press briefing about the reorganization of the war industry. He announced: The

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tasks to date would be taken on by the Independent Department of War Industry within the ministry of Industry and Trade. The deputy state secretary also said that the so-called action program, aimed at rescuing the war industry, had not yet gone before the government.

I first asked Jozsef Hegyhati how the new office would operate.

[Hegyhati] The task of this small team will be to keep track of the capacity of the war industry and to collaborate in the implementation of a potential action program in which it is the Hungarian Army which places orders. In certain cases it should maintain contact with the Ministry of Defense, with the Army. The ministry of Industry and Trade does not have the role of proprietor as it had earlier, when, for example, the directions of development at the war industry enterprises were determined centrally, when the question of what to produce was decided centrally, and the question of how much to produce was decided centrally.

At present, the commissioning party—let us say the Hungarian Army—appears on the market, and the firms must be activated to respond to this on a business basis. The state must undertake a proprietor's role at places where there is production of strategic importance. This is what it will do.

[Correspondent] How do you envisage this assistance or intervention? What would your task be?

[Hegyhati] We must know the directions of development in the Hungarian Army, the plans of the Ministry of Defense, and so forth, and we must support these developments professionally, and by means of industrial policy.

[Correspondent] The oft-mentioned action program is necessary in order for these firms to be informed. They must know what the Hungarian Army wants. Do you have information about this?

[Hegyhati] It is too early to speak about this. The Hungarian Army would also like to be an army equipped with modern technology. Yet I emphasize again: There is consensus on this everywhere in the world.

[Correspondent] It was said earlier that the head of the War Industry Office, Janos Isaszegi, had prepared a plan aimed at rescuing the war industry. It emerged that this would have cost the budget 15 billion forints. How much is needed to rescue the war industry?

[Hegyhati] If this is how the question is put, that amount is the minimum which is necessary. And Mr. Isaszegi was a coordinator—the War Industry Office was also a coordinator—because, with the collaboration of several ministries, an action program, a blueprint, was drawn up which exposed the current situation of the Hungarian war industry and analyzed the possibilities so that—in the event the Hungarian Army and the Ministry of Defense were to place an order—we should be able to make a tough offer on the part of the Hungarian firms.

The action program is not connected with the dismissal of Janos Isaszegi; that is, with his being recalled from service. The leadership of the War Industry Office is a position whose incumbent must be the subject of agreement between the ministries. Janos Isaszegi lost the confidence of several ministries, and that is why he was recalled.

[Correspondent] In the end this 15-billion-forint plan did not go before the government, but several people said that it was completely unrealistic to expect 15 billion forints to be spent on this.

[Hegyhati] Everywhere in the world where there is debate over the budget, there is a clash of interests. Responsible people, responsible bodies weigh up what is to be given priority and what is not. I am of the view that the 1995 budget will not contain 15-16 billion forints for war industry development.

However, as deputy state secretary in charge of the industry, I can say that I would be pleased if this were possible and if it happened, because this would put the industrial sphere in a situation allowing further possibilities for our production enterprises.

I have to say that apart from the few joint stock companies which come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense, most of our production enterprises nowadays do not have a purely war industry profile. Therefore, if I am asked whether there is a war industry nowadays, I will say that in the Hungarian economy there are very few enterprises—apart from those mentioned earlier—which have a purely war industry profile. I will emphasize: These have changed from being large firms in the past to being small firms.

[Correspondent] By this do you mean that the bankruptcy was not necessarily because of the Army?

[Hegyhati] The bankruptcy in question was not, in my view, solely because of the Army's failure to commission work. It happened, rather, because of the reasons which placed the other industry enterprises in a similar situation. So I say that the situation of our firms dealing with war industry production is the same as that of Hungary's other industrial enterprises, especially since these firms do not deal solely with war industry production.

[Correspondent] You have mentioned that it is not possible to make a distinction, since the employees at these enterprises perform civilian military tasks simultaneously—but how many people have worked in this branch and how many will be able to carry on working here in the future? Do you have information about this?

[Hegyhati] I cannot say anything in terms of numbers—precisely because of the mixed profiles. I cannot say what proportion of daily production is for the war industry, and what is for civilian purposes. One thing is certain:

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We do have a war industry capacity, technically. Just think, there is Raba [wagon and machine factory]: no one thinks it is capable of war industry production. However, to put it in everyday terms, if I were to say please, the Army needs transport vehicles, Raba would be ready to deliver trucks, special trucks which fully meet the Army's requirements.

[Correspondent] There were some in the past who said the first thing was for policy to define what was expected of the Army. Only after this was done could one plan shape a strategy.

[Hegyhati] That is the political level. I would like to remain on the professional level. In my view, even if policy defines its expectations of the army, it cannot depart from the possibilities. If the political leadership expects the Army to jump over a certain height when the conditions for this are nonexistent, their hopes will be in vain.

There have been dictatorships where resources were taken from elsewhere, and the Army's equipment was considered to be an important issue. I believe that at present our joining NATO has come to the forefront. Everything must be coordinated. But again I say that this is not in my professional jurisdiction. Everything—the budget possibilities, the international and domestic expectations vis-a-vis the Army, and our production capacity potential—must be coordinated.

[Correspondent] Karoly Janza, deputy state secretary in the Ministry of Defense, said not long ago that the Army had reached the limit of its ability to function.

[Hegyhati] Certainly, I consider Mr. Janza to be a good professional. If he says such things, there must be grounds for it.

[Correspondent] I imagine that there is cooperation between the two ministries—the Ministries of Defense and Industry. To what extent do you plan for an increase in commissions from the Army in the coming year or years?

[Hegyhati] We cannot plan in the short term for Army commissions to create prosperity in Hungarian industry. We must think along different lines. One thing is certain: We currently are ready, and we know what Hungarian industry is capable of—inasmuch as it receives commissions. And in that event, this can be moved along.

In the short term, I am certain that it is not commissions from the Hungarian Army which would cause Hungarian industrial production to appear in a completely differently light .

[Correspondent] For example, here is Videoton or the Pestvideki Machine Factory. What can be done with these?

[Hegyhati] There is a lot of debate about this. The situation of the Pestvideki Machine Factory cannot be reversed, in my view. Its liquidation is under way, according to the law. I am certain, however, that the profile of the Pestvideki Machine Factory will be such that it does not lose its capacity to repair domestic aircraft. In the final analysis, the Pestvideki Machine Factory is in the hands of the creditors, and the creditors' basic interest is—after the firm is cleaned up—for the assets there to be given opportunities in the market of repairing Hungarian aircraft, Hungarian army aircraft.

[Correspondent] And Videoton?

[Hegyhati] Apart from having a different professional profile, the situation is the same. It produces different things, but the situation is the same. These processes must be allowed to settle.

[Correspondent] So this means that the operable part is further expanded, and the part for which there are no orders dies out. It of course follows from this that unemployment can be expected to increase in this sphere.

[Hegyhati] I am certain that more workers will move over from the industry sector to the service sector. This also means that there will be a freeing up of workers in industry.

[Correspondent] Can you give an estimate as to how many thousands of people can expect their jobs to disappear sooner or later, within one, two, or three years?

[Hegyhati] I believe that several hundred thousand people will transfer to the service sector.

[Correspondet] How quickly will this happen?

[Hegyhati] There are areas where the government must intervene. A region cannot be showered with social strains; problems like those in Borsod, Ozd, or in a mining area in the Bakony must be dealt with. The government must be circumspect and act in accordance with possibilities, bearing in mind the social considerations. A state role is indeed necessary here. In places where other workplaces are available, the situation resolves itself.

[Correspondent] Could the list of firms counting on state intervention be expanded?

[Hegyhati] I don't think so. We have regional problems, mainly in the country's northeastern and eastern areas. We are dealing with them. I believe that the group of viable industrial enterprises will be formed by the turn of the millenium, but this does not mean that enterprises will not cease operation. In the final analysis everyone in a market economy is an entrepreneur at his own risk. And for all that, there will be both bad ventures and good ventures. This is normal in a market economy. Even multinational firms go bankrupt sometimes.

[Correspondent] There have always have been conflicts as to how the crisis can be handled in the war industry.

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Is there a uniform idea as to what can be done with this enormous host of bankruptcies?

[Hegyhati] I believe that the bankruptcies are similar to those characteristic of Hungarian industry. I would not speak of a host of bankruptcies in the war industry as such. We have badly functioning enterprises, but we have good ones too. And we have good, functioning enterprises behind the war industry capacity—their number is ever increasing. Having several legs to stand on, they are ready any time to take part in war industry production.

[Correspondent] They are having problems with foreign orders, and this crisis characterizes not only this region but the more distant countries, indeed Western Europe as well.

[Hegyhati] Yes, but an upswing has begun. The economic research institutes indicate that the recession is over. By the way, the revival has appeared to an extent, for example in the steel industry. The prices for steel industry products are moving, they are going up—a revival is expected. We must take advantage of this.

Trade Union Official Views Tasks, Prospects

AU1711192494 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 17 Nov 94 p 9

[Interview with Janos Vago, deputy chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, by Akos Toth in Veszprem; date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] Janos Vago, deputy chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions [MSZOSZ], visited Veszprem last week. In a background discussion he stated that, since its inception, the MSZOSZ has never been in such deep crisis as today.

[Vago] Indeed, I used this comparison in that discussion, but it would be more correct to say that we are facing difficult decisions. A movement can basically face three types of problems: structural, financial, and operational problems. All these problems have been present in the MSZOSZ in the past four years because the MSZOSZ operated in a political atmosphere in which self-preservation was its major task. Therefore, we had no energy left for solving problems. This situation changed with the elections held in May 1994, and the need for the MSZOSZ to function as a political defense umbrella also ceased to exist. So we are now facing the real tasks. But we have not done anything yet.

[Toth] You said the trade unions are facing difficult decisions. Compared to what? Compared to where the trade union should really be now, or compared to what it should do?

[Vago] Compared to both. Perhaps we should have advanced in several areas in the past years, because we are indeed facing urgent decisions regarding the aforementioned problems. Our efforts have not borne results so far.

[Toth] What are your major tasks today?

[Vago] We must definitely consider the fact that the MSZOSZ has a lot of member organizations today, namely 53. This means a considerably larger differentiation than the number of professions or professional groups. Our goal is to reduce this differentiation. We must try to make the three classic areas—public service-budget, industrial, and private employment sectors—form a professional group with representatives also accepted as negotiating partners by the employers.

[Toth] What are your operational problems?

[Vago] The flow of information within the trade unions is inadequate. The other problem is whether or not the organizations have enough money. The MSZOSZ has at least 700,000 actively employed members. Their average gross wages is almost 28,000 forints. Membership fees make up 1 percent of this sum. So the MSZOSZ member organizations have an annual income of more than 1.5 billion forints from trade union dues. Although the MSZOSZ only receives 120 million forints from the above sum, this amount is enough to operate a much more efficient and professional trade union with a better infrastructure.

[Toth] Does this mean that the MSZOSZ does not have an adequate staff of experts?

[Vago] There are not enough economists and legal experts with adequate professional training for the current requirements. A reorganization process also took place in the trade unions around 1989, and an apparatus of experts replaced the political leadership at the time. Thus, we lost our background of experts, something that we have not succeeded in replenishing to this very day. In addition, the general public's view of the MSZOSZ and the trade unions in general is very bad.

[Toth] Why?

[Vago] The real problem is that our public appearance is very weak, and this also is probably our fault. We even failed to make the citizens aware of the few results we achieved on some issues. We simply do not know how to sell ourselves.

[Toth] In your lecture, you mentioned the lack of confidence. Does that mean that the MSZOSZ members no longer trust you?

[Vago] It is very difficult to have confidence in people about whom one does not know what they are really doing.

[Toth] Is your presence in parliament a reason for this lack of confidence?

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[Vago] My answer to this question is a firm no. The fact that representatives of our organization made it into parliament through the list of a political party automatically leads to accusations of cooperation, even if no one makes an open debate out of this. This lack of debate, however, does not mean that this open-hidden suspicion disappeared. The everyday people know little of what their deputies are doing in parliament. MSZOSZ Chairman Sandor Nagy is perhaps the only exception.

[Toth] Why are people unaware of what the MSZOSZ deputies in parliament are doing?

[Vago] One hardly knows what the others are doing, and this is probably the origin of this lack of confidence. However, I would like to stress that this is so not because our people are connected to a political party. People would only lose confidence because of this if the promises of the Socialist Party's government program regarding employees are not fulfilled.

[Toth] What is the position of the MSZOSZ on the social-economic agreement?

[Vago] I very much hope that this agreement will be reached. There are opinions, however, according to which the coalition will prefer to come to an agreement with the new middle class and not with society as a whole, and these fears seem to be quite justified. I support the government's desire to give much bigger favors to the entrepreneurs than previously. However, I do not accept the concept which tries to create a budget balance exclusively by increasing the citizens' burdens. There are a lot of other possibilities, like doing away with black labor and collecting social security dues. This way, the government could add billions of forints to the budget.

[Toth] In my opinion, Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi would regard everything you have just said as demagogy.

[Vago] It is possible, and I would accept the role of a demagogue if I saw any attempt really to solve these problems. At present, the finance minister cannot show any concrete step he really tried in the aforementioned areas.

Surjan: MSZP 'Implementing SZDSZ Program'

AU1711130694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by Jozsef Szabo Bartha: "Surjan: The MSZP Is Implementing an SZDSZ Program"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the view of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the Free Democrats' dominance is unproportionately high in the government coalition, KDNP Chairman Laszlo Surjan said in reply to our questions. In his view, the decisions are regularly made in accordance with the smaller partner's wishes.

Giving up its own self-fulfillment, the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] is actually implementing the program of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] that had 20 percent at the elections. In this form, this coalition is not taking the country in the right direction. It launched itself on the wrong road and it has been following this ever since. In the 1995 budget, we can clearly and very correctly see the key figures that describe the living standards, and the changes and trends in the economy, which clearly prove that, rather than striving to preserve, continue, and further develop the positive economic changes already in progress, the current economic policy is returning to the former withdrawing and restrictive version that clearly proved unsuccessful in the 1980s.

The debates within the MSZP call our attention to the fact, Surjan said, that they, too, are also unhappy about a great many things in the current coalition. If this marriage is bad—and it is bad—then the MSZP has the chance to govern on its own. The KDNP wishes to take on a governmental role again as a result of elections, through the confidence of the people, rather than through the good favors of the MSZP, or as a result of bickering in the current coalition.

According to Surjan, the MSZP has very many opportunities to increase trust in it among the population and the parliamentary parties. The opposition has the will to cooperate and it has proved this several times. If the MSZP took notice of this, needed it, and had the courage to take responsibility for it, then it would also be able to govern the country with just its 54 percent majority. Therefore, we suggest—Surjan added—that the MSZP seek constructively cooperative parliamentary partners rather than a new coalition partner.

In reply to another question, Surjan said that the appointment of Istvan Fodor—who is also supported by the KDNP—as state secretary for defense does not mean that the two parties are getting closer. Fodor is a generally respected person and his participation as a civilian in supervising the Hungarian Army can be a factor of confidence for the NATO countries.

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Coalition Deputies Comment on Joint Meeting

WS1711124594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Ewa K. Czaczkowska and Ewa Kaszuba: "After Meeting of PSL and SLD Clubs, Nothing Changed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It was a safety valve, a therapeutic meeting, after which the coalition will continue to creak." This is how the coalition deputies commented on the eight-hour meeting of the parliamentary clubs of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], which ended on Tuesday night. One of the SLD ministers protested at the meeting against calling it therapeutic because, he said, it is a method used to cure people with mental problems.

The conclusion of this meeting, regardless of how its character is defined, was the decision to renegotiate the coalition agreement and to determine a schedule of regular meetings of the presidiums (once a week) and meetings of the parliamentary clubs (once every three months).

The presidiums of the clubs of the PSL and the SLD are to meet soon to collect all of the motions and proposals submitted at the meeting, as well as to determine the schedule of putting into effect all of the issues both sides agreed upon. Moreover, as Leszek Miller stated, the SLD is conducting some work aimed at updating the coalition agreement. At a motion by the SLD, the agreement is to specify precisely whether cadre decisions are strategic moves and whether they must always be consulted with the partner (a consequence of the recall of Kolodziejczyk). At a motion by the PSL, the agreement is to specify the mode of making any changes in the posts of chairpersons of Sejm committees (this, in turn, is a consequence of the Pek case). The PSL's Janusz Dobrosz believes that what should be corrected are only those provisions of the agreement that regulate the proceedings in issues that are controversial to the coalition, such as privatization and territorial self-government. However, there are opinions within the SLD that drawing up a more specific agreement is only of technical importance and that the coalition's ability to survive and its "smooth" functioning depend entirely on the political will of both parties.

"We have had a year's experience with each other. New problems and, consequently, new emotions have appeared. While we prepare the agreement, we must be aware of the necessity of sticking to both its spirit and its letter," Miller concedes. "Unfortunately, the present agreement is not being observed. We will submit the new text to our PSL colleagues for discussion. It will probably be as early as this month."

Some peasants, who know the prime minister's character pretty well, fear that the all-out attack on Pawlak that the left has launched may have the opposite effect: The prime minister may become even more reserved. They believe that Pawlak is the epitome of the typical peasant, who bears his grudges for a long time and does not forgive easily.

First Friction

The first proof that the joint meeting did not improve relations within the coalition was yesterday's voting on the agenda of the Sejm's session. The SLD deputies voted in favor of the motion submitted by the Union of Labor [UP], which obliged the prime minister to present information on the recall of National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. In retaliation for that, as it were, the PSL deputies supported the motion of the Confederation for an Independent Poland requesting that the government present information on the work of Main Customs Office President Ireneusz Sekula.

"If the prime minister had explained all of the doubts concerning the Kolodziejczyk case to the coalition deputies, none of us would have backed UP's motion," representatives of the left commented. "We would have known what happened, and the opposition would not have. That would have been enough."

Meanwhile, in the fervor of discussion, or, as some deputies suspect, on purpose, the prime minister did not finally say why he had made such a quick and controversial decision. The prime minister's argument that he had been left "alone on the battlefield" and that the minister did not help him make the decision to recall him did not make things any clearer.

What Went Wrong

The most fundamental charges the SLD leveled at its coalition partner and, especially, at the government are the following: violation of the coalition agreement, blatant lack of coordination of government activities, lack of the Cabinet's strategic concept, and lack of an information policy. However, the government was also criticized by the PSL deputies:

"If Ewa Wachowicz cannot cope with her duties, she should be replaced by someone else," said one peasant. Deputies of the left added that it is the duty of any government to communicate with the people. Now, if this has to be done through the mass media, it is inadmissible to become offended by them.

The PSL accused the left primarily of disloyalty: forming a coalition with the Freedom Union in Warsaw, recalling Pek, and not supporting the PSL in the voting on the financing of Bank Gospodarki Zywnosciowej and the voting on the law on cooperatives and the tobacco monopoly. Deputy Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych believes that one of the greatest defects of the coalition is lack of cooperation in the legislative process. Voting on the most important bills should be determined not only by the directorate but also by the presidiums and the parliamentary clubs of the coalition. Zych believes that a positive result of the meeting is the fact that the deputies became aware of the fact that the parties of the coalition

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can cooperate with other, extraparliamentary groupings on the condition that this cooperation will not be against the partner in the coalition.

The left launched an attack on the prime minister for his cadre policy in voivodships. When Minister Strak, trying to refute these accusations, started to enumerate how many voivodes come from the PSL and how many from the SLD, and when he stated that the Katowice voivode was nominated on the motion of the left (it was one of the two most serious conflicts over voivodes within the coalition), the SLD deputies burst out laughing.

"There appeared opinions that it is Strak that is the source of disagreement and the bane of the entire coalition," says SLD Senator Ryszard Jarzembowski from Wloclawek, who has for a long time been suggesting a change in the post of the Wloclawek voivode (this was the second conflict over voivodes). Jarzembowski tries to evaluate the validity of the arguments submitted at the joint meeting by both parties. "We were 75 percent correct, they 25 percent," he says and adds that this was probably not a biased opinion.

"If the SLD is complaining that it has too little say in the government and that it is not very efficient, it should admit mistakes itself," suggests the PSL's Jerzy Pistelok. "The first sin the SLD committed was the creation of the super prime minister. No wonder Pawlak demanded the prerogatives he was entitled to as prime minister."

While commenting on the slogan coined on Tuesday—"Yes for a coalition with the PSL, but with the prime minister from the SLD"—the left's deputies suggest that the PSL must itself evaluate whether the person who is heading the coalition today is performing his duties well enough. This must be a political decision, they say. It is certain that this could not happen without serious changes within the PSL, which the peasants do not want.

As early as several hours after the meeting, which was to put an end to conflicts, some coalition deputies were heard saying: "Nothing changed; even the atmosphere was not cleansed."

SLD Choice for Defense Reportedly Szmajdzinski

LD1711223994 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], has reported that the alliance will present its candidate or candidates for national defense minister to the prime minister by the end of the week. Kwasniewski added that the date when the coalition will present its join candidate to the president depends on Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak.

According to unofficial reports, the Left Alliance wants Jerzy Szmajdzinski, SLD deputy and chairman of the Sejm National Defense Commission, to replace Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, who was dismissed a week ago.

Aleksander Kwasniewski refused to say anything about Zbigniew Okonski, the candidate put forward by the president, maintaining that he did not know enough about him. Aleksander Kwasniewski noted at the same time that the principle under which the prime minister presents ministerial candidates to the president should be observed in appointing the head of the Ministry of National Defense.

Walesa Candidate Interviewed

WS1711135294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Zbigniew Okonski, president's candidate for defense minister, by Pawel Wronski; place and date not given: "I Know How To Cooperate With Generals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Wronski] When did the president offer you the post of head of the National Defense Ministry [MON]?

[Okonski] The president phoned me on Monday and asked whether I would agree if such a proposal were officially made. I said yes. The only problem is that it is the prime minister who should submit my candidacy to the president for his approval.

[Wronski] At the meeting with the parliamentary club of the Polish Peasant Party, the prime minister said that, during the meeting with the president, Lech Walesa had not proposed any specific candidate.

[Okonski] My information suggests that my name was mentioned during this discussion. Perhaps the prime minister was in an awkward situation; he does not want to choose a person whom he once dismissed from the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation. Incidentally, I would like to recall that I left the ministry at my own request. Certain discussions are also under way in the government coalition. Perhaps the parties that are participating in the coalition are trying to "gain as much ground as possible." I am not linked to any grouping. I evaluated very positively my cooperation with Prime Minister Pawlak—during his visit to Moscow, for instance.

[Wronski] Your predecessor in office did not leave at his own request. He was dismissed because he was in conflict with the president. You do realize that it involves a great risk to take over MON in the present situation, do you not?

[Okonski] I will agree to take this risk. While putting the issues of arms trade in order, I often had the opportunity to cooperate with both General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, and Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. Both were most helpful. It is necessary for the future defense minister to regulate his relations with the president, the prime minister, and the head of the General Staff. The pertinent legal acts must be inspected quite thoroughly.

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[Wronski] To whom do you think the chief of staff is subordinated—the minister or the president?

[Okonski] For the time being, the head of the General Staff is obliged by the relation of subordination to the minister. I consulted the General Staff and was assured that such subordination would be maintained. Otherwise, I could not imagine any cooperation. Now, what must be urgently determined are the relations between the various sections of the civilian MON and the General Staff. If any new laws are passed in the future, the minister must adjust to them.

[Wronski] The fate of your predecessor in office was determined by the "Drawsko dinner." The subcommittee that was set up to look into this case presented a MON reparation program. Do you want to use it?

[Okonski] I value the opinion of the deputies, but I would like to form my own opinion about it. Now, as for the "Drawsko dinner," it must be forgotten, and both the ministry and the General Staff should buckle down to work. Well, it is better to construct than to destroy. I have often talked with high-ranking officers. They are frustrated because of two things: lack of legal regulations concerning MON and too little money for the Army. However, the aims are common: integration into NATO and adjustment to its standards, the apolitical character of the Army, civilian control... I am able to develop good cooperation with the generals. The problem with MON was that too many things were done too slowly there. I work in the business sphere, where what counts are time and specific transactions.

[Wronski] Minister Kolodziejczyk was backed by Deputy Ministers Danuta Waniek and Jerzy Milewski against the president. How do you imagine cooperation with them?

[Okonski] They showed loyalty to their superior, which was really positive.

[Wronski] When he was offering you this post, did the president submit the following condition: you must tender your resignation when he decides so?

[Okonski] No, there was no such condition. Nevertheless, I do realize that the defense minister is the servant of two masters—the prime minister and the commander in chief of the Armed Forces. If I became minister and were not able to win them over to my concept, I would resign.

* * *

Zbigniew Okonski is 45 years old. He graduated from the departments of foreign trade and fishing and has been a member of Solidarity since 1980. From 1991 to September 1994, he was deputy minister in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, responsible for arms trade and transactions with the countries of the former Soviet Union and East Asia. He is a second lieutenant in the military reserve.

Biographies of New Generals Published

WS1711151594 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by (apw): "Newly Nominated Generals of the Polish Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] ***Division General Antoni Walczak*** *is 50 years old. He was born in Nowa Wies, Radomsko powiat [small administrative unit]. He passed the school final examination in 1963 at a forestry high school.*

He graduated from the Armored Troop Officers School in Poznan in 1966. He started his military career in Krosno Odrzanskie, where he first was the commander of a platoon and a company and then headed an entire unit.

In the years 1971-74, he studied at the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army. After graduation, he was the chief of staff and then the commander of the 15th Tank Regiment. In 1979 he assumed the function of the chief of staff of the 5th Armored Division in Gubin. Three years after that, he was sent from Gubin to the Soviet Union, where he studied at the Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. When he graduated, he became chief of the Operational Section of the Pomeranian Military District.

Between 1986 and 1989, he commanded the 12th Mechanized Division in Szczecin. He was able to create the atmosphere of commitment and active service there, as a result of which the division was distinguished by the Ministry of National Defense in 1988. That same year he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

A year later, Gen. Walczak assumed the post of head of the Pomeranian Military District. Since August 1994, he has been the deputy chief of the Training Inspectorate of the General Staff of the Polish Army.

Throughout his military service, Gen. Walczak showed great commitment and activeness. He also constantly sought and employed increasingly more efficient methods of work. He is valued for his professionalism and his intelligence.

Walczak is married. His wife, Maria, is a nurse and his daughter, Dagmara, is a university student.

The general, as he himself stressed in an interview for POLSKA ZBROJNA, is interested in the history of wars and of the state, as well as in sports. He likes to play volleyball and to hunt.

Brigadier General Jerzy Baranowski is 46 years old. He was born in Clo, Kielce Voivodship. He finished high school in 1967 in Czestochowa.

He graduated from the Armored Troop Officers School in Poznan in 1971. During his 26-year-long military service, he went through all of the echelons of command and tactical connection [zwiazek taktyczny]. He was the commander of a platoon and a company in the 6th

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Mechanized Regiment in Czestochowa, then in the Second Regiment of Tanks in Opole. After graduating from the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army in 1980, for two years he was an operational officer on the staff of the 5th Armored Division in Gubin and, in 1982, became the chief of staff of the 93d Regiment of Tanks.

As a result of his high professional skills and his achievements, in 1985 he was entrusted with commanding the 15th Regiment of Tanks and then the 25th Mechanized Regiment in Gliwice. In 1990 he became the chief of staff of the 10th Mechanized Division in Opole and, after completing his education in Postgraduate Operational-Strategic Studies at the Academy of National Defense in 1993, became the commander of the 4th Mechanized Division in Krosno Odrzanskie.

He is one of the most talented commanders in the Silesian Military District. He is consistent, self-dependent, calm, and resourceful, especially in difficult situations. He has a high feeling of responsibility for the section of work and service he has been entrusted with. He emphasizes that there are no problems that defy solution for him.

Jerzy Baranowski is married. His wife, Jadwiga, is a secretary in the District Directorate of the Water Economy in Opole. The Baranowskis have a son, Janusz, who is a fourth year student at a vocational high school.

In winter, General Baranowski likes to spend his free time skiing, and in summer he spends his free time among his beehives.

Brigadier General Aleksander Bortnowski is 44 years old. He was born in Lipka, Koszalin Voivodship. He completed high school there in 1968. He graduated from the Higher Officers School of the Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw in 1972.

He started his military service in a unit of the 11th Armored Division and, just like anyone who linked his future to the "line," he went through all echelons of command posts, from commander of a platoon to division commander. After graduating from the Frunze Military Academy in the Soviet Union in 1981, he became the deputy commander of the 42d Mechanized Regiment in Zary. Four years later he commanded the 13th Regiment of tanks in Opole. In 1989, he was entrusted with the post of chief of staff of the 11th Mechanized Division, and three years later the post of commander of the 11th Division of the Armored Cavalry in Zagan.

At all posts, he skillfully steered the process of organization and training and achieved good results in the basic spheres of his official activities. He takes good advantage of his great experience based on profound knowledge in the commanding of his division, and he displays full tactical-operational maturity, perfected by an education at the Postgraduate Operational-Strategic Studies at the Academy of National Defense in 1994. It is not only by means of orange scarfs, wrapped around their necks, that his soldiers manifest the combat traditions of General Maczek's armored soldiers.

He is objective in evaluating his subordinates. He manages to be both demanding and well-wishing.

Aleksander Bortnowski is married. His wife, Maria, is a school teacher. His son, Jacek, is a student of the Economic Academy in Wroclaw.

The general is a fan of sports.

Brigadier General Zbigniew Cieslik was born on 2 October 1949 in Olkusz. After graduating from the Gas Industry High School in Zabrze, in 1969 he began his studies at the Higher Officers School of Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw, graduating in 1973. For four years he was the commander of a platoon and a company in the 2d Mechanized Division in Nysa. Between 1977 and 1980, he studied at the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish Army. After graduation, he was the chief of staff of the 42d Mechanized Regiment and then the commander of the 25th Mechanized Regiment in Gliwice.

In 1988, he assumed the post of chief of staff of the 1st Warsaw Mechanized Division in Legionowo. Two years later, he was specially distinguished and sent to the Academy of the General Staff of the Armed Forces [ASG SZ] of the Russian Federation. After graduating in 1992, he was appointed to the post of commander of the 1st Mechanized Division.

His extensive general and specialized knowledge, confirmed by graduation from the ASG SZ of the Russian Federation with distinction as well as the achievements he had in commanding a regiment and a division (as it is now), place him among the most talented soldiers of the younger generation. The division he has commanded for two years has been distinguished at the level of the Armed Forces twice in a row.

Zbigniew Cieslik is married. His wife, Barbara, is a primary school teacher in Legionowo. Zbigniew Cieslik says that his wife's devotion to raising the children and taking care of the household helped him reach such a high rank. The Ciesliks have two sons: Grzegorz is a student in his second year at the Higher School of Commerce in Warsaw, and Piotr is a fourth-year high-school student.

General Cieslik is interested in military literature. He is a football fan. For relaxation he works on his collection of postage stamps.

Walesa Discusses Relations With Lithuania

WS1811111094 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12-13 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with President Lech Walesa for the Vilnius weekly SLOWO WILENSKIE by Kazimierz Groblewski;

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place and date not given: "Let Us Lift the Spell Off the Past for the Sake of the Future"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Groblewski] Are the rights of the Polish minority in Lithuania, in your opinion, adequately secured?

[Walesa] I would like to discuss this issue in more detail. Polish-Lithuanian relations, an important element of which is the nearly 300,000 Polish population in the Republic of Lithuania, were determined by our common history. As president of an independent and democratic Poland, I am doing everything I can to help overcome the prejudices that have grown over the years and that are sometimes deliberately fueled.

I believe that the compromise we were able to reach when signing the Polish-Lithuanian treaty provided a framework that now has to be filled by people with goodwill, who understand that nurturing animosities between the Poles and the Lithuanians serves neither side. Although they may even be psychologically viable, pragmatism demands a new approach to relations between our states.

The treaty, as I have already said, is a compromise on both sides. The rights it guarantees to ethnic minorities meet international standards.

A true democracy entrusts with governing powers not only those who represent the majority. Parliaments play a vital role in this respect. Guarding democracy, they also guard minority rights. I would like the Lithuanian parliament to be a guard of human rights in this sense and to look after the interests and equal rights of Poles in Lithuania and vice versa.

We still have a lot to do if we want to do away with stereotypes. There is a political will on the part of top state authorities to do so. I wish to observe that ordinary people, who struggle with everyday life, know how to communicate in day-to-day contacts.

I am disturbed by recent signals of problems that are disrupting the aspirations of peacefully developing Polish-Lithuanian relations. I am afraid that the consolidation of mutual resentments and even their fueling, problems that are incomprehensible to Western civilization, does not make it any easier to integrate with that part of the continent. Europe, which has witnessed a reconciliation between Germany and France, is incapable of understanding countries that are unable to discard burdens of the past.

Sometimes a hasty decision or statement may ruin the fine and delicate structure and break off an agreement. Therefore, I would like to appeal to our politicians to be more thoughtful, to understand the ultimate objectives, towering over our activities. I would like to appeal for rejecting all of the negative emotions for the good of a common future in a united Europe. Let us lift the spell off the past for the sake of the future.

[Groblewski] How would you describe the condition of the Lithuanian minority in Poland?

[Walesa] We are guided by two basic principles in regard to all minorities, Lithuanians included. The first assumes that national identity must be paired with loyalty to the country of residence, and the second that minorities are a national and civilizational heritage. They contribute to a nation's wealth. I hope the Polish minority, both in Lithuania and elsewhere, is treated similarly.

There are approximately 30,000 Lithuanians in Poland, mainly in the Suwalki region. Their community is represented by three associations, nurturing their national and cultural identities. The self-government of Lithuanians in Poland is well represented. One example is Punk, a gmina well known for advanced agricultural development. It also has a Lithuanian high school. I do not see any reason that Lithuanians should consider themselves persecuted in Poland. If their conditions are poor—for example, their financial situation—they suffer exactly the same problems Poles do.

[Groblewski] Should the Poles living in Lithuania pursue political and administrative autonomy?

[Walesa] I suspect this is the question that inspired a group of deputies to make an address to the Sejm of the Polish Republic before the Polish-Lithuanian treaty was signed. There were demands that citizens of the Republic of Lithuania with Polish nationality obtain administrative autonomy. In reply to your question, I would like to remind you that the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on the matter. According to that ministry, the demand for autonomy does not adhere to European standards.

[Groblewski] What advice would you give to Poles living in Lithuania? Should they join the newly formed party (Election Project of the Association of Poles in Lithuania) or form new parties?

[Walesa] The resolution of the Lithuanian parliament you are referring to, which renders it impossible for associations to take part in self-government elections, was interpreted by Poles as an attempt at eliminating them from the local governments. And we know that in some regions Poles constitute a majority. It is no minor issue for them, especially now, when participation in self-government gives an opportunity to participate in the privatization of land. This is a serious matter. I do not have to remind you of the losses suffered by Poles when Lithuania was collectivized by communists. Therefore, it is not surprising that a party was formed on the basis of an association to put forth candidates for self-government elections.

You have asked me about other, newly founded parties. Fledgling democracies, especially the former communist countries, once governed by one totalitarian party, are only now releasing their pent-up frustration. This is also

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seen in the form of party pluralism. Thus, we have tens of parties and small "parlor" groups. We have already been through that ourselves, and we know where that can lead. But it is a rule we have to accept. First, you have to break apart to eventually unite in a better way.

I have already heard that the Election Action of the Association of Poles in Lithuania is too sealed off, is not opening itself to other minorities with which it could join forces, and so forth. Perhaps other parties have to emerge as well?

I believe, however, that most important will be the objectives these groups pursue. They should cooperate in building their identities. It is easier to be successful when you act together. You must seek guarantees for your interests, however, within the confines of the law.

[Groblewski] Why is the Polish-Lithuanian treaty needed? What does it change in our bilateral relations?

[Walesa] The document has regulated our relations. It has opened up new possibilities. It has defined the political status quo. That is a lot, although I do realize it is not everything yet. Quoting one of the Polish politicians, I would like to say that the compromise treaty secures Polish interests where necessary and makes concessions where possible.

I believe that this document, so important for both sides, should put an end to a period of mutual suspicion and distrust. It has, after all, laid the framework for developing harmonious neighborly relations. It is a chance for agreement and good contacts. I would, however, like to repeat that this is a goodwill document, and it only depends on us whether we can put it to good use for mutual benefit. We have had such strong ties over the centuries—a common cultural heritage, shared values. There is a platform for dialogue and cooperation.

[Groblewski] Trade between Poland and Lithuania is very small. Why is that, and how can it be changed?

[Walesa] There are several reasons. Having won their independence, each country sought its own path. It is obvious we looked to the West. We tried to enter cooperation with the West, counting on assistance in overcoming recession and keeping the course of reforms. Now we know we must also cooperate with one another. And we are approaching one another.

We know one another very well, we have common experiences, and we have moreover come to the conclusion that we are not yet a full-fledged partner for the protectionist West. That is one more reason we should rely more on one another.

There are signs that our cooperation is renewing, but the pace is still too slow. Outdated legislation is also an obstacle. I keep on persuading businessmen to carry out bilateral deals. I know there often is a will, but...yes, I believe our mentality is an obstacle sometimes. Bureaucratic barriers are sometimes insurmountable. A lot depends on individuals, on officers, not necessarily top-level.

There is the Polish-Lithuanian Chamber of Commerce, which, for instance, organized fairs in Suwalki and Kowno. There are businessmen who invest in Lithuania and Poland. Negotiations were held on opening a bank. There are good foundations. We need more mutual trust, we need modern laws that would be compatible with the new challenges. We need to realize that both sides may profit from bilateral cooperation.

The media can play a huge role here, an informational and educational role. They could create a favorable climate for such cooperation.

[Groblewski] Should the Visegrad Group open itself to Lithuania? Will Poland make such a motion?

[Walesa] We have spoken with the Baltic States on cooperation with the Visegrad Group. The issue has also been raised by the presidents of those countries. The Visegrad Group has experiences it can share with others. Our cooperation with the West is more advanced. This is where we can be of assistance. We could serve as a bridge for Lithuania. Anyway, Lithuania consulted Polish experts on preparations and the creation of basic legislation for its economic reforms.

We can cooperate on the international scene in accelerating our joining European security and economic structures. We have signed the Partnership for Peace. This is also a field for cooperation—for example, on the issue of the Kaliningrad region.

Lithuania could benefit from closer ties to the Group. We are open, although it is premature to speak of specific forms and scope of cooperation. We do not differ in opinions on ultimate objectives, on aspiring toward full membership in the structures of an integrated Europe.

Finally, I wish to stress once again: If we lose ourselves in remembering the past, others may determine our future, and we may not be there.

Sejm Passes Law on Supreme Chamber of Control

LD1711131794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1221 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 17 Nov (PAP)—The law on the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], accepted by the Sejm Thursday, describes the powers of this institution in managing public finances. NIK will be allowed to control local authorities and private enterprises. The term of office of the NIK chairperson will last six years. The chairperson may ask the Constitutional Tribunal to rule on the consistence of laws with the Constitution.

A total of 254 deputies voted in favor of the law, 78 were against, and seven abstained. The Union of Freedom deputies were against the law in this form. The law will be sent to the Senate, and, if accepted there without amendments, will be sent to the president to be signed. [passage omitted]

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Kolodko: Government Cutting Cost of Reforms

LD1811123694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1052 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Nov—In the Sejm on Friday, Deputy Prime Minister Grzegorz Kolodko described next year's draft budget as a budget reducing the cost of changes, economic growth, economic stability, and the reforms. We want this to be a budget of political compromise, he said.

Above all, this is about a compromise of the conflicting social interests of various groups, regions, and milieux.

In 1995, budget revenue will increase in real terms by 6.7 percent and expenditure by 6.6 percent. The budget deficit will amount to 87.8 trillion zlotys, which is 3.3 percent of the GNP, a little less than last year.

An increase in expenditure for the budget sector—for example, education by 4.3 percent, culture and the arts by 9.4 percent, the health service by 4.9 percent, and social services by 12.8 percent—is proposed. Pay in the budget sector is to increase more than the average rate, by about 5.5 percent above inflation. Old-age and disability pensions will increase by 7.8 percent. This is "a budget policy with a strong social emphasis," Kolodko said. The budget also contains instruments to finance economic growth.

It is estimated that, in December 1995, inflation will have increased by about 17 percent in comparison with December 1994. According to Kolodko, this is a very difficult but possible task. The deputy prime minister gave assurances that the SLD-PSL [Democratic Left Alliance-Polish Peasant Party] government "is not slowing down the pace of reform but cutting their cost."

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Defense Minister Discusses Air Force Funding

AU1711161394 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Nov 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca by Reghina Varvici; place and date not given: "The Defense Minister Starts the Counterattack in the Name of the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Varvici] Esteemed Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, I requested this interview because after last week's hearings in the Commission for Defense, Public Order, and National Security of the Chamber of Deputies, various commentaries were published in the press. Our newspaper's custom is to provide our readers with information received directly from the source. Therefore, we would like to receive this information from the minister of national defense.

[Tinca] I will start by telling you that I am disappointed both about how those hearings on aviation issues have unfolded and about how this issue is being handled in the media. And my regret also stems from the fact that I have received the impression that the issue of resolving the difficulties of the Air Force is somewhere in second place, because the first priority is to exploit the issue for journalistic reasons, to shock the public, and there may even be political reasons behind it. Some rumors—let us call them this—are being circulated that there is some interest in Romania in purchasing new fighter aircraft from abroad. I do not believe these rumors because such steps would involve enormous financial efforts for the country, somewhere in the region of several annual budgets-worth. I am saying this because to change the aircraft does not only mean purchasing the actual aircraft. One should add to this the need to rearrange the ground infrastructure, change the maintenance equipment, build hangars, and change the armaments on the aircraft, as well as purchase the appropriate ammunition. We are talking here about expenditure that, no matter what kind of government came to power, we would not be able to afford. No doubt, there are indeed such prospects and one day Romania will reach that stage. However, nobody in the world can change its aircraft in 3, 4, or 5 years. Experience shows that introducing a new system of military aviation can only be achieved over several decades. We must hope that Romania will reach a stage when it will be able to afford this necessary change.

[Varvici] Minister, other military departments are also having problems, but attention is being focused on the Air Force. Why?

[Tinca] Yes, there are other rumors or opinions that this excitement about the Air Force is aimed at creating a starting point for a broader process of destabilizing state institutions. Those who spread rumors rely on the fact that pilots are exceptional people who never, anywhere, have absolutely everything that they want. And this is even less so in our country, where the Air Force has been neglected over the last few decades for various reasons. Those who spread rumors wish to create the image that the Ministry of National Defense, its leadership, and the government are not paying attention to the situation of the Air Force, are not receptive to the tragedies that are taking place, and that there are no recovery prospects. I believe that this second variation is closer to the truth, because in many articles that are permanently published in certain newspapers, there is this tendency to look for reasons to incite the spirits by all means, even by telling lies from beginning to the end. I hope that pilots and all the others who work in the Air Force are sufficiently intelligent and wise to regard these attempts as an insult and to understand the game behind the scenes.

[Varvici] So what is the truth, Mr. Minister?

[Tinca] I have always admitted, indeed, I raised the arguments about the poor state of the Air Force and affirmed that the resources available to us—both at the ministry and country-wide—are not sufficient to have the recovery process proceed quickly. Similarly, I have stated that the few available resources, our own resources, which—please allow me to stress that in 1994 they increased for the first time since 1989—must be spent with the greatest care so as to draw the maximum benefit from them. We strove to understand the complex phenomenon to identify its true causes. And again, for the first time—I must stress this—absolutely every aspect of all Air Force units has been inspected, which helped us get a picture of the real situation currently prevailing in the Air Force.

[Varvici] Mr. Minister, I ask you again, what is the truth?

[Tinca] The main reason for the poor situation of the Air Force is that this service has been neglected in the past 15 years. As a result of this process of negative accumulation, a critical moment has been reached, and there is no way to go on. Proof of this is the disasters that have been taking place. However, even these disasters should be regarded calmly. If we were to take statistics into account, we are still doing well compared with other countries. However, in our country there are fewer flights and so the chances of a disaster are reduced. No doubt, the risk factor in our Air Force is still high compared with the accepted risk.

[Varvici] How do we reduce this risk?

[Tinca] Even in this unfortunate year, we have worked out a strategy to resolve the situation of the Romanian Air Force. First, we have to allocate financial resources for fuel, which would take us out of the danger zone, which is 40 hours of pilot training per year. This year, we scheduled 50 hours of flying for each pilot, but for several reasons—which in our case are objective reasons—we will probably achieve between 43 and 45 hours of flying until the end of this year. In 1995, we propose to reach 50-60 hours of training. Second, in the 1995 budget, the funds allocated for the procurement of spare parts to repair several currently available aircraft—in

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order to include them in the combat training program—will be larger than in 1994. I must stress that in 1994 the funds available were also larger than in 1993. [Beginning of sentence missing as published] civilian minister. Third, the state of the ground infrastructure will be improved, some runways must be repaired, flight control and directing points must be modernized, ground flight simulators for training pilots will be repaired, and we will also have to purchase other such simulators, as well as renew maintenance equipment, special machines, tools, measuring devices, and control devices.

Fourth, we hope to purchase one or two aircraft with double commands and some newer generations of warplanes. Fifth, we will tackle with greater boldness pilots' social problems, placing greater emphasis on building service lodgings. This strategy also includes another chapter relating to order and discipline. However, the measures that we are going to take are internal matters.

[Varvici] Mr. Minister, you said that you had noticed a state of disorder in the ministry's activity.

[Tinca] I do not believe that I have said anything of this kind because there is no disorder there. I have found a process that had already started and I believe that now this process has been directed onto the right path. I am not discovering America. Some measures have been taken before and attempts were made to achieve something in each area. I do not claim that military personnel have shown or are still showing a lack of interest. However, from 1989 to 1994, the funds allocated for defense in the state budget steadily decreased. The reason that we started stirring now to find solutions, is that the first increase was registered in 1994 and it is also going to continue in 1995. Now, we can perceive a sign coming from the country that it is indeed ready to make a gesture to the military. And this gesture has to take a more serious shape in tackling the situation. On the other hand, the shortcomings and recovery measures are more obvious because there is greater openness in the ministry, things are being said frankly and directly, and the public knows and has to know the situation, because it involves public money. So far we have been too inhibited and this was not good. There was also a certain tendency in all institutions not to make waves and just say that things are working fine.

[Varvici] You started by saying that you were disappointed. Now you seem optimistic.

[Tinca] As far as we are concerned, the decision has been made. We hope that Parliament will understand us and approve at least those sums that we agreed upon in government, after a long struggle and discussions. But, like every plan, ours is uncertain, too. I am very afraid that some budgetary difficulties will arise in 1995 that will halt the arrival of the allocated funds, because it could happen that in 1995, just as in 1994, budget revenue might be lower than expected. And this is because many people do not pay their taxes, while others are involved in considerable fiscal evasion, and the economy will face another blockade. Certainly, this is assuming that it manages to solve the current one. I am also concerned about industry, if it is not able to fulfill its commitments in time and at the level of quality requested by us. I am also concerned that construction sites for dwellings and repairing runways will not manage to halt the wastage owing to negligence. And, certainly, I am also afraid that the Court of Accounts will fail to understand completely the specific nature of our work. But, if you come back to me in a year's time, we can draw up a balance sheet together.

[Varvici] Let us hope that the balance will be positive. Mr. Minister, I would like to ask you to return to the issue of the hearings. Is it true that you could not answer certain questions and requested a second hearing?

[Tinca] This is also a fat lie! Because the understanding that I reached with Commission President Petre Roman, accepted by the members of the commission, was to hear in this first meeting the questions of deputies—which were very many, very tough, and sometimes well meant—and then, to hear our reactions, the reaction of those who work in the Defense Ministry, because the press was also present in the hall. Then, it was agreed that at another meeting of the commission, we were to answer each question separately. On 8 November, we received from the Chamber of Deputies the text of all the questions, signed by Mr. Petre Roman. We are waiting to be told the date for the next meeting. And to be honest with you to the end, I could have answered all the questions on the spot. But I did not have enough time, because meanwhile a meeting with the personnel of the Somalia hospital was scheduled.

[Varvici] Minister Gheorghe Tinca, on another subject, what is the significance of opening the Bureau of Information and Documentation of the Western European Union [WEU] in Bucharest?

[Tinca] It has great significance. It is important for us because the WEU is not very well known in our country. And this is in the quite complicated situation of security structures currently prevailing in Europe. For example, the relations between the WEU and NATO are not clear to Europeans either. Thus, the WEU Bucharest Bureau could provide broader information to Romanians. At the same time, the WEU could also get better informed about the situation in Romania, including the situation in the Romanian Army.

[Varvici] It seems that the WEU is already well informed because WEU Assembly President Sir Dudley Smith told MEDIAFAX: "In my opinion, you do not have the army that you need." What can you say to this statement?

[Tinca] In principle, Sir Dudley Smith is right. But he did not say anything newer than what we have been declaring at weekly news conferences of the Ministry of National Defense for quite some time. We are engaged in the process of reforming the army, which requires

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actions to redimension, re-equip, refurbish, and reorganize it on modern bases so as to have a numerically smaller army but a several times more efficient one. The media has been informed of all these concerns but it seems that they are not really interested in them because they concern a longer process and strenuous work that contains nothing spectacular. No doubt that cooperation with the WEU as well as with NATO requires the activity of our army to be elevated to other standards. This modernization process is objective and I daresay would be necessary even without the issue of integration into the WEU or NATO. Thus, this process is not being ordered from abroad. This cooperation brings us certain advantages, but in no way should one understand it that in this way Romania's own efforts to modernize the army will be easier.

As a matter of fact, the measure to redimension the army was taken a few weeks ago by the Supreme Defense Council. In any event, this is a complicated process that cannot be completed from overnight. As far as the statement that you quoted is concerned, I would say that Romania has the army that it can afford. The result of it is that the issue of country's defense is not an issue that regards only a ministry or with which only one person should be burdened. The country's defense is the outcome of a general course, of what is happening in the economy and society, and the way in which various factors are able to cooperate. For the time being, there is an impressive consensus in the area of declarations on the issue of the country's defense. However, in the area of concrete facts, there are very many points that have to be discussed.

[Varvici] You might like to convey something to the public?

[Tinca] I would like to draw attention to the fact that we Romanians are in a great danger, namely, that we might get stuck in a state of constant lamentation. I believe that no matter how much we whine, the financial resources that we desire not only for the army but also for health, culture, and education will not be any larger. Because these financial resources are ultimately the produce of what we understand we should do, the way in which we work in our country. I know that after World War II, when Germany was in ruins—not the way we are today—the Germans, and the whole world knows who they are, were in a disastrous economic situation. They had reached a stage when they were smoking the butts of cigarettes thrown away by the soldiers of the occupation armies. But they were not ashamed and did not complain. Instead, they got properly organized, took the bull by the horns, knew very well what they had to do in spite of all the difficulties, got mobilized both collectively and individually, worked, produced, and therefore are where they are today. If we constantly whine, we will face an even greater danger, namely, that we will create a comfortable moral state for ourselves. We will believe that it is not our fault, that we want to work but others do not find jobs for us and do not pay us, and that we could do wonders but we do not have the money. And under the layer of this moral comfort, our minds fall asleep and give birth to monsters. If we keep whining, we will not gain anything. It would be better if we rolled up our sleeves, sharpened our brains, strengthened our beliefs, and used our limited financial resources in the most effective way possible, in the hope that next year we will add another piece of grain or sand to something solid that we have started to build. But we are not cured yet. We always have to find scapegoats. Before 1989 all the misery was the fault of only one person. But we have not yet given up this way of thinking and the same mentality still persists today. Wherever we see shortfalls we say "if only we had... if only we could... we would work." In fact, the difference is that in those times you could do nothing but now you are free to act. We should face the truth: We alone are the only one's to be blamed.

[Varvici] Mr. Minister, you might not like it if I recall an event that aroused various emotions, namely the famous ball. What did you want it to be and what was its outcome?

[Tinca] The Partnership for Peace Ball "From Friend to Friend" was among the few activities that was decent from beginning to end. However, it irritated the poorer segment of the public, but not because it took place, but rather because it had to be broadcast on television for reasons that I still do not understand. It was not my ball but that of the army. However, I am again disappointed that none of the 18 people who telephoned the daily EVENIMENTUL ZILEI about it to express his indignation could find time in his busy schedule to come to the National Military Circle to discuss the matter. Their schedule may not have permitted it or they may have had difficulties, although I promised to pay the fares for those living in the provinces. I will tell you most frankly that my dream was that this ball should be turned into an institution. I still have a wish, namely, that this should become a traditional ball even when I am no longer minister of defense. As a matter of fact, we have another similar event, namely the Easter Concert. But this went somehow unnoticed, although it was broadcast live from the Romanian Athenaeum Hall. But even that was broadcast with several "transition breakdowns." It is difficult to create traditions such as the Vienna New Year's Eve Concert, to which we cannot compare ours. However, in order to succeed, you have to dare and start somewhere. I would like us to organize balls at all military circles in the garrisons. Is it not better if young people, new couples, come to the ball to the Military Circle instead of going to bars?

[Varvici] I agree that it is better. Before I thank you for the interview, I would like to ask you, Mr. Gheorghe Tinca, to tell us how you feel as a civilian minister at the helm of the Romanian Army.

[Tinca] Excellent. Mainly now that it is starting to become a headache! I am in danger, namely that once engaged in debates, one defends one's position and start losing one's objectiveness. One no longer see defects or shortfalls in one's own garden, although one has to work on them first of all, if one wants to do something useful.

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Veto Prevents PNL From Rejoining Opposition

AU1711194594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Due to the veto of the Liberal Party '93 [PL-93], the request of the National Liberal Party [PNL] to be admitted, by means of the Civic-Liberal Alliance, among the members of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] was rejected. This piece of information was made known to the press by CDR President Emil Constantinescu after the conclusion of the CDR Executive Committee, during which they debated the aforementioned issue.

We would like to mention that according to the protocol on the functioning and organization of the CDR, decisions on the admittance of new members may be taken by consensus only.

The PL-94 leaders explained their veto by pointing out that PNL first has to merge with the liberal parties already members of the CDR.

According to our correspondent Elena Perdichi all other parties represented in the CDR Executive Committee voted in favor of the PNL's rejoining the opposition alliance.

Education Group Withdraws From National Union

AU1711152894 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Nov 94 p 1

[Communique issued by the Steering Council of the National Federation of Education, in Bucharest on 14 November: "The National Federation of Education Withdraws from the National Trade Union Bloc"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Council of the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS], which met in session on 11 and 12 November, fully confirmed the crisis of authority and professionalism that is acutely manifest within the confederation. In view of the chaos and lack of seriousness prevailing within the BNS; of the lack of any prospects of returning to the principles and actions that define authentic and high quality trade unionism; and of the serious organizational, management, and strategic deficiencies of the BNS, the Steering Council of the National Federation of Education unanimously decided to withdraw the Federation from the BNS, as of today, 14 November 1994.

[Signed] The Steering Council of the National Federation of Education

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Fikret Abdic Calls on 5th Corps To Surrender

LD1711183094 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, on Velkaton Radio, Fikret Abdic, president of the autonomous province of western Bosnia, called on members of Izetbegovic's 5th Corps and police to surrender to units of the autonomous province of western Bosnia national defense units without resistance.

In the name of western Bosnia's specific situation and in the name of a better future and prosperity for the Muslim people on this soil, we are appealing to you to surrender your arms and to comply with a procedure which will be very quick and efficient, Abdic said. Having accused the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo of causing a split among the Muslims, president Abdic said that the establishment of control, the setting up of the national defense throughout Cazin Krajina, and the establishment of contacts with the Srpska republic army means the establishment of permanent peace in western Bosnia. It also means that the war will end and that Bosnia will be organized in accordance with the wishes of its three nations, Abdic said. He said that as a [words indistinct] victor and as moral president of the presidency of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, he never will.

Abdic Continues Bihac Attacks

AU1811100294 Paris AFP in English 0944 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 18 (AFP)—UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] representatives were to meet with warring leaders of the Bosnian factions both in the capital and in the northwestern Bihac enclave Friday [18 November] in a bid to stop a further escalation of fighting, UNPROFOR spokesmen said. [passage omitted]

In the capital, acting UN Bosnia Force commander General Herve Gobilliard was to meet separately with Bosnian Government commander Mustafa Hajrulahovic and Serb military chief Ratko Mladic after warning he would no longer tolerate repeated violations of the Sarajevo heavy weapons' exclusion zone set up in February. If UNPROFOR no longer has the support of the warring parties it might be forced to withdraw, Gobilliard also warned.

Meanwhile in the Bihac pocket, secessionist Croatian Serbs from the Krajina region and their Moslem rebel allies continued their attacks from the north and west in an apparent bid to cut the pocket in two, UNPROFOR officials said.

UN civil and military representatives were planning to meet Friday near the northern border with rebel Moslem leader Fikret Abdic, who has thrown in his lot with the Krajina Serbs after taking a trouncing last summer from the 5th Corps government forces stationed in the Bihac pocket.

The meeting follows warnings by the UN Security Council in New York against cross border attacks from Serb-held Croatia and threats of air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) if the lives of UN peace-keepers or that of civilians in the UN- declared safe area of Bihac town were put at risk.

Some 1,200 Bangladeshi peace-keepers are currently deployed in the enclave, including 346 in Velika Kladusa, a town now surrounded by Abdic forces in the north, and 161 in the Bihac town safe area, to the south.

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, for his part, was to issue a report to the Security Council Friday on new proposals to end the fighting in Bihac.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has called for a weapons exclusion zone to be installed around Bihac town, but diplomatic sources said Butrus-Ghali has raised some practical problems with the plan, including the number of additional peace-keepers that would have to be deployed. [passage omitted]

5th Corps Holds Velika Kladusa

AU1711204294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Fikret Abdic's rebel units have been completely destroyed at the access points to Velika Kladusa, while the shortening of the front line is stopping the aggressor's advance. In the past two days, the defense lines on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau have not been changed. The wishes of Karadzic's propaganda machinery are quite another matter. The basic problem regarding the defense of the Bihac canton is linked to lateral assaults perpetrated by the Serbian rebels from the Knin Krajina. They are entering the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina from another state and they are doing so in full view of the UN Protection Force, reads the report of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

The 5th Corps units are in complete control of the situation although they are fighting under extremely difficult conditions. The enemy does not stand a chance of reaching Bihac. Thousands of citizens from the Krajina are enlisting in the 5th Corps units. We now need to help the people that are being mercilessly shelled by the aggressor from the so-called UN Protected Areas which have become the center of attacks at the Bihac region. Karadzic's chetniks are now putting Bosniaks—which they have until now held in camps—on the front lines to fight, reports the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Serb 'Aggressor' Routed

AU1811105294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Nov 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps is most certainly in control of the entire town of Velika Kladusa. We have found this out in the best and most direct of ways: in a direct telephone conversation with the fighters of the 5th Corps in Kladusa. They are firmly in control of the town and the surrounding areas.

True, the aggressor's army, with the help of the remnants of Abdic's paramilitaries, did attempt to break through the 5th Corps defense lines and enter the town, but this attack was repulsed. Let me repeat, we got this in a direct telephone conversation with the 5th Corps fighters in Kladusa itself. Kladusa is free.

The aggressor is still fiercely attacking from the so-called Serbian autonomous province of Krajina in Croatia the defense positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army near the village of Bugari, and fighting is also heavy around (Vitkovci) and (Prekovac) along the defense lines of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. We have heard that the aggressor has managed to push back the HVO fighters on certain parts of the front.

However, the aggressor's forces around Kladusa have been completely routed. The Bosnia-Herzegovina 5th Corps is in Kladusa. As I have said, the aggressor is at the moment fiercely attacking the entire 5th Corps defense line. There is fighting around Bihac. However, they cannot take Bihac. Why? This is best explained in an interview for SLOBODNA DALMACIJA by General Rasim Delic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army commander. The general says: The aggressor will never take Bihac. He can shell it, but militarily he can do nothing significant.

This has been confirmed on the ground by Gen. Dudakovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps commander. He says: They can attack us, bomb us, as they are doing, but on the ground they cannot succeed. The territory cannot be taken by the Air Force, but by the infantry, and that is where the 5th Corps is superior to the aggressor.

Therefore, dear listeners, let me repeat again: In a direct telephone conversation with the 5th Corps fighters in Kladusa, we have found out in the best possible way that Velika Kladusa is under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps.

Delic Message to Troops

AU1811095494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Army General Rasim Delic has sent a message to the officers and men of the 5th Corps. The message reads as follows:

Officers and men of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps, you know what your military obligations are to the people and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. You are defending your people, your families, your children, and your closest ones. You are defending their right to life, the dignity of our country, and the reputation of our army.

Nothing happens by accident in this war. The Bihac region and its people are under attack from an aggressor who has been better protected by the international community than we have. This is not the only injustice of this generally unjust war that has been imposed on us, but it is certainly the greatest. In almost three years of war against the Serbian aggressor, the many repulsed offensives and the struggle against the traitors have strengthened your conviction and the courage of you heroic fighters. That is our greatest strength, and the best guarantee that you will persevere in your noble military duty.

Other units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are fighting their everyday struggle in the knowledge that they are thus helping you and easing your struggle against the enemy. That is the common conviction of our entire army.

I wish you luck in battle. Our people and army extend their best wishes, reads the message from Army General Rasim Delic.

Serb Planes Bomb Bihac

AU1811112994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 18 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two warplanes belonging to the Knin chetnik air force, which took off from Udbine airport near Korenica [in UN Protected Area South], has carried out an air raid with cluster bombs on the town of Bihac and its outskirts.

This sudden attack at around 1100 took place before the very eyes of the UN Protection Force and European observers. Several civilians were killed, and a number of people suffered serious or slight injuries. NATO again did not react.

The air raid alarm is still in force in Bihac.

The aircraft swooped in from the direction of Licko Petrovo Selo.

Further on Air Raid

AU1811122894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today at 1105 the aggressor attacked Bihac from the air. Three aggressor aircraft took part in these attacks, B-H PRESS reports.

One of these dropped two cluster bombs on an area some 500 meters from the center of Bihac, on Luke District, while the second aircraft strafed the town. The third guided the first two, which flew at an altitude of just 50 meters.

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The aircraft flew in from the area of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina, that is, from the UN Protected Area [South] in the Republic of Croatia.

UN Force Condemns Cross Border Raid Into Bihac

AU1711123794 Paris AFP in English 1145 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 17 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force Thursday condemned cross border attacks from Croatia by breakaway Croatian Serbs and rebel Moslems against the northwestern Bosnian pocket of Bihac.

A spokesman warned that the United Nations would use force, including air strikes, against the attackers if they struck at a UN-declared safe zone inside the Bihac enclave. The attacks, launched from the west and north of the pocket Wednesday, "constitute a military offensive across a recognized international border, seriously threatening to destabilize the ceasefire in Croatia and to provoke a major escalation in the conflict" in Bosnia, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Thant Myint-U said.

Shelling attacks notably targetted the northern Bihac town of Velika Kladusa, posing "an unacceptable risk both to the civilian population and to UN peacekeepers" there, he said.

"The UN is commmitted in no uncertain terms to use all means at its disposal, including the use of force, including the use of air power, to stop any sustained attack on the safe area of Bihac or a deliberate attack" against UNPROFOR, he said. The safe area of Bihac town did not appear to have been deliberately targetted so far, he said, but UN Bangladeshi soldiers were at risk both in Velika Kladusa, which has been surrounded by invading forces, and at their Coralici headquarters, in the centre of the pocket, next to which a Serb-fired missile impacted on Wednesday.

A ceasefire concluded between the Croatian Government and breakaway Croatian Serbs from the Krajina region is at risk because of the involvement of the Krajina Serbs in the Bosnian war on the side of the Serbs and threats by Zagreb to intervene on the Bosnian Government side.

UN Observers Deployed at 'Vital' Bihac Points

AU1711172394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is a piece of news that we received prior to the beginning of the newscast. Prompted by the grave military and humanitarian situation in Bihac, representatives of the communal authorities met with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bihac. We have a report by our correspondent Muhamed Mulic.

[Begin Mulic recording] Every attack on the Bihac protected area will, in the future, be regarded as a threat to the UN forces, said the newly appointed commander for this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Canadian Colonel (Charles Lumieux) at today's meeting with the representatives of the communal authorities, who were headed by the president of the communal government, (?Mehmedalija Hihic).

Addressing the extremely grave military and humanitarian situation in the Bihac region, Col. (Lumieux) stressed that UNPROFOR had undertaken all necessary measures for preventing attacks on the protected area and civilians, and that UN troops and military observers have been deployed on all vital points in the region of the town. Of course, the United Nations will not shrink from calling for NATO air strikes, since all the necessary coordination on the level of the higher commands has been completed. The attacks carried out so far with SA-2 Volhov missiles, assaults from the UN Protected Area [UNPA] region, and the engagement of the Knin air force have been reported to the relevant UNPROFOR commands in Sarajevo and Zagreb. A detailed plan of [words indistinct] NATO planes has already been coordinated. After yesterday's attack with Volhov missiles on the region of (?Coralici), where an UNPROFOR base was damaged, NATO planes were called in, but weather conditions prevented the air strikes from being carried out, Col. (Charles Lumieux) claimed.

However, according to the Canadian colonel, other measures have also been taken aimed at lessening the intensity of combat activity and tension in the region, which would enable political negotiations. Dutch troops will also be transferred to this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they will be a great help in carrying out UNPROFOR tasks. UNHCR representative Monique [name indistinct] presented data illustrating the catastrophic humanitarian situation in the Bihac region. Over 50 percent of the population is also starving, and in a few days the conditions will become intolerable. Food reserves have been long been exhausted, and a single humanitarian convoy has not reached the Bihac region since May. The reason for this is that the Knin authorities are not granting the passage of convoys through the so-called Serbian Krajina. The issue of supplying this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina by airdrops was again discussed. [end recording]

UN General Threatens UNPROFOR Withdrawal

AU1711221094 Paris AFP in English 2156 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 17 (AFP)—The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Thursday warned it might be forced to withdraw from Bosnia if warring parties continued to violate UN-mediated agreements and no longer backed its presence.

A statement issued by General Herve Gobilliard, acting Bosnia Force commander, said: "Both sides should be

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aware that continuing violations may result in military advice being given that the deployment of UNPROFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina is no longer viable as it no longer has the support of either side."

The statement also repeated warnings given to both parties to stop artillery exchanges in Sarajevo, adding that future violations of a heavy weapons exclusion zone, set up within a 20 kilometer (12-mile) radius of town, "could result in military action." This followed a series of artillery exchanges late Wednesday and Thursday in and around the city.

The statement also called on the parties to immediately implement measures already agreed on demilitarising Sarajevo.

UN Tells Silajdzic Serbs Shelled Presidency

AU1711155894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The shells that hit the Presidency building and the others that landed on other parts of the Sarajevo city center were fired from chetnik positions. This was confirmed by General Herbe Gobilliard, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for [word indistinct] Sarajevo, in a meeting with Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, also attended by Minister Hasan Muratovic, president of the State Commission for Relations with the United Nations. Here is what Prime Minister Silajdzic said following the urgent meeting.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Gen. Gobilliard and associates arrived at the scene 10 minutes after the attack on us, the Presidency. We met with him at his request, and were told that the attack was perpetrated from Serbian positions, that there was no doubt of that. I said that we were mostly interested in whether or not he had called for air strikes. It is clear that this is an attack that needs to be punished. He replied that he had contacted Gen. de Lapresle and that Gen. de Lapresle would take the necessary measures. I hope that Gen. de Lapresle knows what needs to be done in this case, and that is to punish those who today fired at the Presidency building. The meeting lasted less than five minutes. Thank you. [end recording]

Plane Hit; UNHCR Suspends Sarajevo Airlift

AU1811120894 Paris AFP in English 1158 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 18 (AFP)—The office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Friday [18 November] suspended the humanitarian airlift into Sarajevo after a Canadian plane was fired at the previous day, a spokesman said here.

The aircraft, one of 20 to land at Sarajevo airport Thursday, was hit by three rounds of gunfire on its flight out of the besieged city, UNHCR spokesman Kris Janowski said here. There were no casualties.

The UN Protection Force and the International Committee of the Red Cross were continuing their flights into the city on Friday.

Ganic Discusses Bihac With Akashi, de Laprese

AU1711211294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ejup Ganic today held a telephone conversation with the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi, who is currently in New York. The subject of the discussion was the development of the situation in Bihac and the Cazin Krajina following the latest chetnik offensive.

Moreover, Ejup Ganic also, several times in the course of the day, contacted General de Lapresle, UN Protection Force commander for former Yugoslavia, by telephone. These were very important talks and exchanges of information. It is expected that the talks will contribute to the resolution of the concrete crisis situation in the Bihac safe haven.

Silajdzic Calls For NATO To Replace UN

AU1711221394 Paris AFP in English 2153 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 17 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic Thursday branded the United Nations incapable of protecting his country, and called instead for deployment of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ground forces.

Speaking on television, the premier said UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops "should be replaced with NATO troops (...) or by the troops from those countries that are willing to contribute them."

Referring to recent attacks by Serbs on the northwestern Bihac enclave, on UN-declared safe areas and, Thursday, on the presidency building in Sarajevo, Silajdzic said: "This is becoming an absurd situation, they (UN) are going too far, and I think that UNPROFOR has crossed all lines in Bosnia."

"The presidency was hit, there was no response, the TEZ (Total exclusion zone around Sarajevo) was attacked, no response. Bihac safe area was attacked, no response. We think that the United Nations in New York is blocking the action of NATO," which would otherwise be willing to act in defence of international resolutions on Bosnia, he said.

"We accepted the peace plan. We played by the book as we always do and what do we have—we are being punished and the aggressor is being rewarded," he said. "We accepted an unjust plan that rewards genocide, we accepted in the name of peace, and what do we have now. Four months later, all our towns and cities and enclaves are besieged and starved to death," he said.

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European governments had insisted on maintaining the arms embargo on a country that was being attacked by all sides. This, he said, "is not a position of neutrality. It is a position of complicity."

The Bosnian Government this summer accepted a peace plan, worked out by an international Contact Group, which called for partition of the country with Serbs getting 49 percent of the territory and Moslems and Croats getting the remaining 51 percent.

The Contact Group had warned it might call for the lifting of the international arms embargo on Bosnia if Serbs did not agree to the plan, but it has gone back on its threat despite the Serbs' refusal to go along with the deal.

Izetbegovic Receives New Zealand Ambassador

AU1811072494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] I have the honor of presenting to you my credentials as the first New Zealand ambassador to the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, said (Judith Catherine Trotter), the first woman ambassador in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, when she presented her credentials to Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency member Ivo Komsic. [passage omitted]

President of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Alija Izetbegovic today received the newly appointed New Zealand ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina Judith Catherine Trotter. Izetbegovic thanked Ambassador (Trotter) for the support New Zealand has extended to Bosnia-Herzegovina in the form of humanitarian aid and the presence of New Zealand troops in the UN Protection Force, who are conscientiously carrying out their duty.

Serbs Reportedly Remove Officers After Defeats

AU1711172694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The military leadership of the so-called Srpska republic has removed General Grubac, commander of the Herzegovina Corps of the aggressor army. His removal comes after the complete breakdown of the latest offensive in the Neretva River valley and the unsuccessful attempt to enter Bijelo Polje, during which the 8th Nevesinje Brigade of the so-called Srpska army was completely defeated.

Earlier, after losses incurred on the Konjic part of the front, the commander of the 2d Herzegovina Brigade, Major Boro Andrej, was also removed. These removals are not only connected to the latest failures of the aggressor forces on the Herzegovina front, but also to the increasing dissatisfaction of the people and the army with the leading political and military goals in eastern Herzegovina, reads the statement of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Press Center.

Article Details Supply of Arms to B-H Army

AU1711162794 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 94 p 5

[Report by Momcilo Kovacevic and Sreto Dragas: "Embargo Only a Farce"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The constant U.S. insistence on lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims if the Serbs do not accept the peace plan, judging by everything, is merely an act of craftily throwing sand into the eyes of the international public, following the logic that "the fools won't notice anyway." In the meantime, while this turmoil is going on, the army of Alija Izetbegovic is receiving uninterrupted cargoes of the most modern arms from all parts of the world.

It is evident from the information published exclusively by POLITIKA EKSPRES that the delivery of arms is continuous, whereupon one can definitely conclude that the arms embargo was actually lifted long ago.

At the end of May, Iran, Malaysia, Tunisia, and Pakistan financed the purchase of 200 metric tons of arms and ammunition of Chinese origin, which was, reliable sources adamantly maintain, transported to Ancona (Italy) and then to Split, from where it was shipped to Visoko. Earlier, 60 metric tones of ammunition purchased in Zagreb were added to this shipment.

That same month, 150 tanks arrived at the Split and Ploce harbors and were later delivered to central Bosnia.

This June, the Government of Saudi Arabia, Alija Izetbegovic's faithful ally, supplied his army with 200 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles. At the same time, several vessels carrying arms and equipment sailed into Split harbor under the organization of the UNHCR. Subsequently, everything was transported to the Zenica and Tuzla regions.

We have learned incontrovertibly that, during June, the Muslims imported approximately 280 artillery pieces of various calibers, 350 metric tons of infantry ammunition, and approximately 1,500 TF-7 armor-piercing rockets of Chinese manufacture. This frightful cargo, which was, together with armor-piercing Faggot missiles, purchased through "an unknown" Bulgarian company, was delivered to Ploce and, a little later, to central Bosnia.

Multiple rocket launchers were shipped to the Croatian Dubrava airport between 2 and 4 May.

A French humanitarian organization "(Premier Megens)" is also involved in the process of supplying the Bosnian Muslims with arms. Under the label of "aid," it delivered a great quantity of arms and ammunition to Alija's army in the middle of this year.

From Ploce, the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] shipped 26 trailers of arms and ammunition to the

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Muslims in central Bosnia on 25 June, and, a little later, using one aircraft, delivered arms and combat equipment to Butmir airport.

During the well-known Parachute action on the night from 23 to 24 August this year, 200 armor-piercing TF-8 rocket of Chinese manufacture were dropped in the Vrsac region.

In October this year, the command of the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army purchased three 76-mm guns (ZIS) and a greater quantity of arms and ammunition. This deal was concluded personally by Rasim Delic when, in Zagreb, he agreed to import 1.2 million German marks [DM] worth of arms from the Republic of Croatia. Currently, they are negotiating the purchase of 14 MI-17 helicopters, 122-mm and 155-mm howitzers of Chinese manufacture, and MiG-29 aircraft from North Korea, which will all be delivered to the Muslims via the Republic of Croatia.

Following an earlier agreement between the Muslims and the Croats, in mid September this year to be precise, 30 tanks, six MiG-21 aircraft, and two MiG-26 aircraft were ordered. It is assumed that this cargo has also reached central Bosnia.

A report that two enormous ships brimming with surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles sailed into Rijeka harbor on 31 August is horrifying.

Understandably, the German Government could not stand aside either regarding the armament of the Muslims. A convoy of arms and equipment for the 5th Corps of the Muslim Army was sent on 25 October, and the deadly barrels of these most modern arms are already aimed at the Bosnian Serbs.

[Box, p 5]

Imports From Beginning of War

Importing arms has been going on undisturbed since the beginning of war on the territories of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. In this way, for example, in October 1991 an Adria Airways DC-9 aircraft brought a great quantity of "Hecklers" and automatic pistols from Klagenfurt to Sarajevo airport.

In February 1992, DM1.6 million worth of arms was purchased in Turkey via the Croatian company Astra. In the middle of the same year, ammunition for the PAT 33/2-mm and 200,000 rounds of 7.65-mm ammunition arrived in Sarajevo from Slovenia.

In the first half of 1992, the Muslim armed formations received delivery of 30,000 "Kalashnikovs," 6 million bullets, 20,000 pistols, and an enormous quantity of military equipment from the Republic of Slovenia.

At the beginning of August 1992, the import of arms from Italy and Kuwait to the value of $40 million was agreed in Konjic.

[Box, p 5]

Donors

Beside, one would say, the regular import of arms, the Muslim armed forces are also being assisted by their numerous faithful international donors. For example, in July and August 1992, Fadil Lipovaca, the owner of the Karantanija company in Ljubljana, paid $150,000 for the purchase of arms, while Edo Bojic paid $170,000 for the same purpose.

The Muslim diaspora in Germany purchased one helicopter, 10 guns, and a great quantity of arms for Izetbegovic's army.

A certain Meho Merdzanic and Munib Latic, businessmen in Germany, purchased and delivered 100 Zoljas [M80 64-mm portable rocket launcher] to the Bosnian Muslims.

[Box, p 5]

Arms' Factories

We have learned from well-informed sources that numerous arms and ammunition factories are working intensely for the requirements of the Muslim army. Thus, for example, the Vaso Miskin Crni factory in Sarajevo is manufacturing mortars, portable launchers, and shells. Infantry ammunition is being manufactured in Gorazde, while the factory in Konjic is the main manufacturer of shells.

The Travnik-based Bratstvo factory is manufacturing Oganj, Plamen, and Orkan multiple rocket launchers around the clock, while gun and mortar barrels, shells, and portable launchers are being transported daily from the Zenica ironworks to the Muslim positions.

Serb Military Convoys Use Brcko Corridor

AU1811112594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Nov 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salihodzic from Brcko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last night on the Brcko front was characterized by intense provocative fire from the Serbian aggressor's positions. The enemy was at his most active on the central part of the front, where he also fired 60-mm and 82-mm mortars at our positions, and rifle grenades and Broving from the [word indistinct] Sume. From the Cadjavac region the aggressor fired antiaircraft machine guns, while intense small arms fire was directed at all the positions of the 108th Motorized Brigade throughout the night.

The usually busy traffic along the so-called Brcko corridor, which has been intensified since the enemy launched an offensive on the Bihac region, was also

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registered last night. Long convoys of enemy transporters were passing throughout the night in both directions along the Bijeljina-Pelagicevo road.

SDA Hails U.S. Decision To End Arms Embargo

AU1711212694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak on news conferences by the SDA and the Croatian Peasants' Party in Sarajevo on 17 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the name of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], Mr. Ismet Grbo assessed a U.S. Administration decision to pull the United States out of the process of supervising the arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a gesture that once again reconfirms our country's sovereignty on an international scale. Besides, this decision also represents the beginning of the acknowledgement of Bosnia-Herzegovina's right to self-defense, which was questioned by the UN decision to impose the embargo, and the initiation of a process of reexamination of the interests that have been so far been voiced by the superpowers toward the crisis on this territory. [passage omitted]

At the news conference by the Croatian Peasants' Party, party Secretary General Dubravko Lovrenovic and Vice President Ilija Simic spoke. Mr. Lovrenovic conveyed his impressions about a several day tour of the territory of Tuzla and Zenica Cantons by a delegation of the party. The most significant element in Tuzla is, according to Lovrenovic, the improper activity of the SDA in Tuzla, which is striving to take power in this town and in the canton. As the best thing in Zenica, Duravko Lovrenovic singled out the activity of the Turkish UN battalion units and assessed this as a model example of the activity necessary by all UN Protection Force units.

Regarding the Croatian population in this territory, the few who still live there are afraid because there is still some undesirable behavior by the individuals and groups from other ethnic communities. There are no major problems, though. One problem that is burdening the normalization of relations between the two ethnic groups and the entire situation, Mr. Lovrenovic said, is a decision, that is, the position of the Vares Presidency on not registering the children of the Croatian refugees who have returned to Vares as pupils in the schools.

In the name of the Croatian Peasants' Party, Vice President Ilija Simic expressed deep concern for the fate of those endangered in the Bihac District and his satisfaction with everything that had been accomplished at the last session of the republican assembly, that is, the Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zenica Croats Promised Proportional Representation

LD1711191794 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Report by Zvonimir Cilic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second meeting between representatives of the HDZ's [Croatian Democratic Community] Municipal Committee and the Executive Committee of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] was held in Zenica. They discussed the inclusion of HDZ representatives in local bodies of authority. A joint press statement issued after the meeting says that—in view of implementing the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in line with constitutional principles—both sides expressed a readiness to enable and ensure the adequate participation of representatives of the Croat nation in the bodies of authority and state bodies of the Zenica municipality.

Necessary measures and activities will be undertaken in order to ensure that there is a just proportion of Croat representatives in the reorganized administrative bodies of the Zenica municipality, and that the interests of the Croat people of Zenica are realized. Both sides have expressed their satisfaction with the resumed process of dialogue and cooperation that will be continued and extended. This is said in the public statement signed by Josip Pojavnik, the president of the HDZ's Municipal Committee, and (?Sevdzija) Babic, the president of the SDA Executive Committee.

Further on Croat Representation

AU1711221194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Within the framework of continuing cooperation and contacts between the Party of Democratic Action [SDS] and the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], talks were held between the representatives of the SDA Executive Committee for Zenica and the HDZ Municipal Council for Zenica.

Both sides expressed readiness—with the aim of implementing the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution in accordance with the constitutionally established principles—to enable and implement the adequate participation of representatives of the Croatian people in the government bodies of Zenica municipality.

All the necessary measures and activities have been undertaken to ensure—in accordance with the federation constitution—that the Croatian people are justly represented and their interests realized in the reorganized bodies of authority in the Zenica municipality. This is stated in the statement of the HDZ for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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Krajina Reports Croatia Massing Forces on Border

LD1811113094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 18 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The information service of the Serb Krajina Army's Banija Corps issued a statement this morning saying that Croatia is continuing to bring in and mass fresh forces to the border area near the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] Sector North of the republic of Serb Krajina.

According to the same source, last night around 200 special Croatian police force personnel arrived in the area around the village of Moscenica [about 50 km southeast of Zagreb] in four buses; they were deployed near the demilitarized zone. Units of the Serb Krajina army immediately took adequate steps to strengthen the defense system in the Moscenica and Kotar Suma areas.

Krajina's Mikelic Comments on Draft Agreement

LD1711160294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—A session of the government of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] began in Vukovar today. The government will discuss the outcome of yesterday's negotiations with Croatia at Zagreb airport, Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic told reporters prior to the session.

A standpoint position will be formulated on a new draft agreement that was presented yesterday to the delegations by the cochairmen of the Geneva Conference, Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg. The head of the Croatian negotiators, Hrvoje Sarinic, responded positively to it in Croatian Television's main news bulletin last night.

Commenting on the co-chairmen's new draft, Mikelic said that its preamble only includes a provision that it was drawn up along the lines of the Vance plan and the Zagreb agreement in keeping with the Serb delegation's demands.

"The part of the text that states that the agreement is based on the UN Security Council's relevant resolutions has been omitted, something that I demanded while I was in Zagreb. True, the two co-chairmen nevertheless wrote in a supplementary letter that they had been working in keeping with relevant UN resolutions. But the letter is not an integral part of the document," Mikelic stressed.

The Krajina prime minister added that the Serb side still views some issues with some criticism, above all those provisions of the draft agreement with Croatia which relate to control of vehicles entering the UN Protected Area zones and the provision that the United Nations will not let through vehicles carrying goods for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In his words, the Krajina delegation will demand that this provision is dropped from the document.

At today's session, the Krajina government will also formulate its stand on an initiative by some deputies of the RSK Assembly to dismiss Internal Affairs Minister Ilija Prijic.

Mediator Discusses Talks With Krajina Serbs

LD1711201694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1938 GMT 17 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 17 (TANJUG)—Kai Eide, international mediator for the former Yugoslavia, on Thursday said that Serb Krajina and Croatia could resume talks on the issues that remained unresolved.

Eide told a press conference at the United Nations Protection Force headquarters in Zagreb there would be no further negotiations on the already resolved issues if either side rejected the proposed draft agreement. Eide said the draft agreement was the best we (international mediators) could possibly make." [no opening quotation mark as received]

The draft agreement was proposed on Wednesday by co-chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg and U.S. and Russian ambassadors to Croatia Peter Galbraith and Leonid Kerestedzhiyants.

The draft agreement provides for the resolution of certain economic issues between Serb Krajina and Croatia, such as the issues of water and power supply and the reopening of oil pipelines and the Belgrade-Zagreb highway. The four mediators had previously taken part in the talks between Serb Krajina and Croatia held at a U.N. base at the Zagreb Airport on Tuesday.

Eide said that neither side was granted everything it demanded and that both resented some of the stipulations, but it was the only possible way to find a solution. He urged both sides to sign the document as soon as possible. Negotiations on the political issues will ensue after the signing of the agreement. The talks will be based on a draft that is soon to be proposed by the international mediators.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. The town of Knin is the capital of Serb Krajina. The territory of Serb Krajina was placed under United Nations protection in the spring of 1992.

The Croatian Government has not recognized Serb Krajina, still considering it to be its own territory, whereas the Krajina Serbs claim that their state has been set up in the same way as Croatia during the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia.

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Federal

Lilic on Desire for Peace, Ties With Romania

LD1711205594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1913 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Nov. 17 (TANJUG)—Since the start of the Yugoslav crisis the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was oriented towards peace, Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic has said. By accepting the 'Contact Group' plan for Bosnia we have confirmed once again such an orientation, Lilic said in an interview to the LIBERTATEA weekly printed in Yugoslavia in the Romanian language.

Lilic said the Contact Group plan was not the only solution, but a chance for peacefully reaching a final solution to all controversial issues in Bosnia through talks between the warring sides and with guarantees by the international community and Yugoslavia.

Lilic said the international sanctions against Yugoslavia should be lifted as soon as possible and completely since it has been accepted that a civil war is being fought in Bosnia and that Yugoslavia is in no way participating in it.

The United Nations Security Council in early October decided to reward Yugoslavia's peace efforts and suspend sanctions in the field of air transport, culture and sports.

Lilic said it was unacceptable that the total lifting of the sanctions was additionally being made conditional on the resolution of other problems not linked with the events in the former Yugoslavia.

Speaking about Yugoslav-Romanian relations, Lilic said the two countries had nurtured years long friendship and good-neighborly relations along with mutual respect. Lilic said the international sanctions had stopped the two countries' cooperation, especially in the economic sphere. Lilic said the partial suspension of the sanctions and in expectation of their lifting soon, both sides have started creating conditions for the normalization of relations as soon as possible.

He said Romania and Yugoslavia had prepared an economic cooperation agreement and were currently discussing a number of agreements in the sphere of transport, tourism, science, culture and information.

Lilic said that the constant promotion of relations between the two countries would also strengthen stability and cooperation in the region and help its participation in modern European integration processes. Speaking about the position and rights of more than 20 national minorities and ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, Lilic said that the Yugoslav Constitution defines the state as a civil one and guarrentees, together with Yugoslav laws, minority rights in keeping with european and world standards.

In keeping with this policy, we urge the creating of favourable conditions for cultural communication of Serb and Romanian national minorities with their mother countries, as well as the preservation of their national identity, their language, culture and customs, Lilic said.

In Yugoslavia there are about 25,000 ethnic Romanians.

Jovanovic Comments on Relations With Croatia

AU1711174294 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 94 pp 16, 17

[Interview with FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Dragan Bujosevic; date and place not given: "Impossible Becomes Possible"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There was an attempt to improve, to normalize the relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia in Zagreb last Sunday [6 Nov]..., but there was no success. Nothing changed.

Yugoslavia offered the establishment of civil traffic, telecommunications, sports, and cultural relations. "What we need from them is only the recognition that Knin and Vukovar are Croatian towns; we are not interested in matches, books, and films. They can watch them with Owen and Stoltenberg," the refugees queuing for humanitarian aid commented, as NIN correspondent from Zagreb Zorica Stanivukovic reported.

Croatia asked to be recognized in the way this has been done by 110 countries so far. The reader will find the Yugoslav answer in this interview.

It seemed that some progress would be made, especially after it had become known that the head of Slobodan Milosevic's office asked the author Slobodan Selenic what was wrong, why Croatian intellectuals were not returning the visits by Serbian intellectuals.

[Bujosevic] By which plane did you arrive at Zagreb airport and did you drive around the city in a car with the Yugoslav flag?

[Jovanovic] We flew in on a small "Falcon." I do not think that we flew over so-called Croatian air space, we flew over Hungary. We drove in their cars in Zagreb. I paid no attention, there might have been the Yugoslav flag on the car. They were absolutely correct as far as protocol was concerned.

[Bujosevic] Does the "Falcon" have some Yugoslav signs?

[Jovanovic] It does. I think that there were both flags on the table during our talks, but I am not sure.

[Bujosevic] An alarm was heard during the talks, was it not?

[Jovanovic] Yes, and they told us not to worry. I said that I was not worried because I got used to alarms as a child.

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[Bujosevic] The talks between you and Mr. Granic were in a way surprising. Is that true?

[Jovanovic] We began the process of normalization at the beginning of 1994 and we wanted it to go quickly. It did not go quickly, however, since the Croatian side made the negotiations with Knin unnecessarily complicated in the meantime. Therefore deep mutual mistrust developed, so that various efforts had to be made in order somehow to make things start working again.

On the other hand, the Croatian side started to make it a condition for the continuation of the process that a solution be found to the issues on which Yugoslavia could not make a final decision. Mr. Granic, for example, the Croatian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, should have returned the visit by Mr. Simic, the former Yugoslav deputy prime minister, as it was agreed. Instead of doing so he set the condition that he would come to Belgrade only if it were possible to come by car from Zagreb.

[Bujosevic] Has there been any kind of pressure from Russia or some Western countries to arrange these talks?

[Jovanovic] We had certain contacts with the Croatian side and they coincided with the efforts of the two co-chairmen to invigorate the existing communication channels. As a result of that the talks and negotiations between Knin and Zagreb, and parallel with them between Yugoslavia and Croatia, were revived.

[Bujosevic] The work of the four ambassadors (Peter Galbraith, Leonid Kerestedzhiyants, Kai Eide, and Gerd Arens) was much discussed. Was Yugoslavia informed about it and did it make its own initiatives?

[Jovanovic] We neither received any kind of information nor did we know anything about it. We do not think that anybody could have made a better plan than the present plan for negotiations between Knin and Zagreb, made following the Vance plan.

[Bujosevic] One thing became clear after the talks in Zagreb. Croatia is looking for a global approach, the recognition of Croatia first of all, which should be followed by talks about everything else, whereas the Yugoslav attitude is to start negotiating about concrete matters. Do you think that negotiations are possible if the positions of Croatia and Yugoslavia are completely different?

[Jovanovic] A poet said once: The impossible can become possible, but taking into consideration the present situation we have both concluded that it is necessary to resume the dialogue at this level. The decision to resume the dialogue has not changed, and we have—respecting the attitudes of both sides—agreed in the meantime that it is necessary for our experts to meet in order to discuss concrete matters, such as succession, pensions... We have a certain logical advantage, we are perhaps wiser and more experienced because in contrast to Croatia we are proposing something which is smaller and easier to achieve, and thus more acceptable, and which at the same time enables the process to develop.

[Bujosevic] The Croatian side could respond to your statement by stating that it has advantages because 110 countries—among others also Russia, which is said to be a Serbian ally—have recognized Croatia in the borders of the former Yugoslavia. For how long will Yugoslavia be able not to recognize these borders?

[Jovanovic] You see, we firmly "stand on the ground of rights and facts." Rights, because we have always insisted that the breakaway Republic of Croatia or other former Yugoslav republics should dissociate from Yugoslavia in agreement with it and not based on their unilateral decision. What is more, the Hague Conference on Yugoslavia concluded that other states should not recognize the breakaway Yugoslav republics before the conference ended with positive results. The fact that certain countries violated this conclusion does not mean that they produced a right. The countries that have recognized Croatia in its former Yugoslav borders have allowed themselves the luxury of doing that. On the other hand, we are one of the signatories of the Vance plan and this plan orders both Knin and Zagreb to start negotiating with the aim of finding a political solution. It excludes every attitude that could anticipate the final political solution. If we recognized Croatia, we would act against the Vance plan.

[Bujosevic] The reality is different, though. It seems that Yugoslavia is opposing the whole world alone again.

[Jovanovic] The reality is that Croatia has been recognized by a large majority of countries although its secession was unilateral, but it is also a reality that Croatia has never, neither in the moment of its recognition nor before that, controlled the whole of the territory of the former Republic of Croatia. The Vance plan had been signed before other countries recognized Croatia as an independent state and before it became a member of the United Nations and other international institutions.

[Bujosevic] The opposition is accusing the Yugoslav leadership of "having already sold" the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Jovanovic] The role of the opposition is to disapprove of the government and to blame it for all possible things. What is most important, the opposition does not have to submit any proofs. Its accusations are absolutely unfounded because we have in no way shown that we are changing anything in our principal attitude that problems have to be solved peacefully, by applying political means, by negotiating.

[Bujosevic] Croatia says that the Krajina issue will be solved soon, it threatens to use military force. Would Yugoslavia respond in case of a Croatian military invasion against the republic of Serbian Krajina, and in which way would it respond?

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[Jovanovic] Our politics is based on the principle that all problems that have arisen from the Yugoslav crisis, first of all the problems between Krajina and Croatia, should be solved peacefully, by using political means. Therefore the Vance plan was made, it is a result of our initiative. In the meantime the agreement has been reached that the three-stage process should be accepted. In the first stage, the agreement on cessation of all military hostilities was signed and more or less materialized. This agreement is supported not only by Krajina and Croatia, but also by the international community and the Conference on Yugoslavia. It can hardly be imagined that one or the other side could violate that agreement.

[Bujosevic] If this happened, would Yugoslavia offer military support to the republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Jovanovic] First of all, as I already said we would not like this to happen, neither do we calculate with this possibility. If this happens, the armed forces of the republic of Serbian Krajina are large enough to defend it from such an invasion. Krajina has its own powers that can reject every military attack against its territory.

[Bujosevic] How do you see the future of Krajina? Do you see it within the Croatian state or as a separate state?

[Jovanovic] We do not have any concrete suggestions or proposals in this respect. We are co-signatories of the Vance plan, we are not a negotiating side and we do not want to influence and prejudice the attitude of one or the other side. If Croatia wanted to favor a solution which would go in the direction of its main aim, which it likes to call reintegration, it would have to do much more, first of all for the Serbs in Croatia but also for the Serbs in Krajina. According to information of the UN secretary general, more than 255,000 Serbs from Croatia had to leave Croatia. This is a secret form of ethnic cleansing. According to the information we have, their number is over 300,000. The UN Protection Force information says that 500 Serbs leave Croatia every day. Nobody leaves his home as a prank.

If we forget what Croatia has done against the Serbs in the last five years—including their exclusion from the Croatian Constitution, etc.—and consider only the latest phenomena, it is not difficult to conclude that the Krajina Serbs cannot find the motivation to think about a possible return to Croatia.

[Bujosevic] Do you think, as it has been claimed lately, that one of the conditions for lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia is the recognition of Croatia in its former Yugoslav borders?

[Jovanovic] These attempts have been made from some directions, but they are unfounded from both the legal and the political point of view. They are not mentioned in any document and we disregard them. As we can see, a large number of objective countries are not ready to accept additional conditions for lifting of the sanctions.

[Bujosevic] Do you expect that the will of the United States and Germany to make the recognition of Croatia a condition for lifting of the sanctions will be decisive?

[Jovanovic] Since this is a time of power and not of right, we have already come across such a tendency. Its results are the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, the introduction of double standards, as well as the treatment of the Serbian people in a very unjust way. It is possible that those who have power want to impose this power on others, but it should not be possible that they—as an American thinker expressed it—try to persuade all countries all the time. There is resistance to this politics.

[Bujosevic] Has Yugoslavia found an ally which would help her reject the idea that the recognition of Croatia should be a condition for lifting of the sanctions?

[Jovanovic] You see, the recognition of a state is a sovereign right of every state: it can neither be applied for nor required, let alone imposed. On the other hand, we "firmly stand on the ground of rights," as I said. We respect the Hague Conference and its conclusions.

[Bujosevic] What about the conclusions of the Badenter commission?

[Jovanovic] This commission was first of all a counselling body of the conference. It was turned into a decisionmaking body overnight. Its decisions were based on political and not on legal facts. Its attitudes were accepted as final, and what is most important, its assessments and decisions did not reflect the reality of the Yugoslav crisis, because its conclusion that Yugoslavia collapsed is not true. Yugoslavia was attacked by its secession republics. The theory of collapse has never been accepted in Yugoslavia.

[Bujosevic] It has not been accepted by the Serbs, but it has been accepted by everybody else.

[Jovanovic] It has not been accepted by a half of the Yugoslav population and a half of the Yugoslav territory.

[Bujosevic] Will the relations between Croatia and Yugoslavia, that is between the Croats and Serbs, be regulated in two or in 20 years?

[Jovanovic] I am afraid that we shall have serious problems in relations with Croatia for a long time to come, independent of when the present political problems are solved, now or later. Croatia will always feel the need to express its frustration toward the Serbs. We are relatively unprepared as a nation for something like that. History has not prepared us for legal processes of that kind; we are not good litigants....

[Bujosevic] We might learn to institute legal actions since we have been arguing with the whole world for several years already.

[Jovanovic] We have not been arguing, we have only not been allowed to present our arguments in a proper place. We have been excluded from the place where decisions

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about us are taken. We can present our attitudes only in a limited number of places. This is one of the biggest injustices done not only to us but also to the time in which we live.

Committee Lists 'Terror Camps' for Serb Detainees

AU1711132794 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Nov 94 p 16

[Report by B. Radivojsa: "Evidence of 193 Camps for Serbs"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Yugoslav committee for gathering data on crimes against humanity and international law has prepared a new report on the casualties in the civil war on the territory of the former SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). The report has complete evidence of 160 crimes committed in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, mostly against the Serb population, in the period between 1990-1994.

The report lists the crimes in nine groups. The first group is "deliberate killing of civilians," the second "deliberate killing of detainees and prisoners of war," the third "inhuman treatment of civilians," the fourth "inhuman treatment of prisoners," the fifth "deliberate killing of detainees" [as published], the sixth "taking hostages," seventh and eighth are "destruction of houses" and "religious shrines," and the ninth is "examples of ethnic cleansing."

For each of these 160 crimes there is a list of the place, the time, evidence and indications of who the perpetrators were and the description of the crimes. The reports are complete and they present further evidence of the horrendous crimes committed against the Serbs in this region.

Evidence by Witnesses

As we have been told in the committee, the report will be forwarded to the Federal Government, which will probably forward it to the United Nations, as has been the case with the previous three reports.

The latest document, unlike the previous ones, contains a list of camps for Serbs. As committee member Ilija Simic told us, this list is only partially complete since it contains the names of the camps already mentioned in this and other reports forwarded to the United Nations, which means that the expansion of the list is expected. For the time being there is undisputed evidence of the existence of 150 camps in Bosnia, and 43 in Croatia.

The committee received evidence about the existence of these camps from witness accounts. Everyone who gave a statement on his prison experience, also gave a precise location, his assessment of the number of detainees, how the facility looked, and the treatment of detainees, including the names of the torturers, the tortured, and the killed.

Various facilities have served as camps and prisons. These are frequently school buildings, silos, warehouses, football stadiums, atomic shelters, sports halls, and similar facilities. There are also plenty of prisons, military warehouses, garages, tunnels, brickworks, barracks, and other terror camps, in which there are so-called private prisons, in fact places for torture and various other bestial acts.

In Bosnia there are some places where several camps and prisons for Serbs have been registered. There are nine such places in Tuzla: Tuzla (military prison in the Husinjska Buna barracks), Tuzla (Kozlovac), Tuzla (camp), Tuzla (Pozarnica), Workers' University, Mining Institute, Tusanj Stadium, Stari Tusanj Tunnel, and Tuzla Cerik. There are eight prisons in Mostar, six in Duvno (Tomislavgrad), eight in Odzak and the surrounding area. Still, the largest number of registered prisons is in Sarajevo—41 total.

In Croatia the largest number has recently been registered in Zagreb: The prison of the ministry of internal affairs in Vlaska Street, Gajeva Street, Marshal Tito barracks, Kerestinec, Kuniscak, Petrinjska Street, Selska 92 (former barracks of the Yugoslav People's Army), Trstenik, and Cernomerec.

Description of Camps

We asked Djordje Ignjatovic, deputy chairman of the commission, and member Ilija Simic how many people have been through these camps. They said that it was still hard to talk about figures, since the work had not been completed. Ignjatovic told us that the estimates would be published later, even including the detailed descriptions of each of these facilities. The witnesses in their statements have described in detail the premises where they were held, means of torture, the way they were treated, and so on. However, at this stage the picture of the camps is still not complete, particularly as it is known that others exist.

By the way, according to free estimates, at least several dozens of thousands of detainees have been through these 193 camps in the last three to four years.

Serbia

Greek Foreign Minister Arrives, Meets Leaders

Milosevic, Papoulias Talk

LD1711201094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in Belgrade this evening. The Greek foreign minister arrived this evening from Kiev after a visit to Belarus and Ukraine. Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic greeted the guest from Athens at Surcin airport.

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Immediately upon his arrival Papoulias told TANJUG that he would discuss the current events in the former Yugoslavia with the Serbian president this evening.

Asked what Athens' official stand on the U.S. President's recent decision to withdraw from the supervision of the arms embargo was, Papoulias said that this was a unilateral decision by Washington. According to him, the decision could have far-reaching consequences on the war in Bosnia.

The Greek foreign minister said that Athens shared Europe's concern over the American decision and added that this was stressed at recent meeting of the Western European Union.

Papoulias on Lifting Sanctions

LD1711211894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2017 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has received Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, who arrived in Belgrade this evening accompanied by his associates.

During lengthy and friendly talks held in frank atmosphere of mutual understanding, they exchanged views on the most important issues of the political situation in the region and the development of relations between Serbia and Greece. Particular stress was placed on the current phase of the peace process and the efforts to find a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Resolute support was expressed for the policy of peace pursued by Serbia and for its overall efforts to normalize relations and establish a stable peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Greece wants the international community to make a concrete contribution to the positive outcome of these efforts and to help those promoting the peace option in the search for a political solution to the crisis by lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Talks between Knin and Zagreb were seen as the best way for resolving any open issues. Milosevic and Papoulias expressed hope that the two sides would soon reach an agreement on the normalization of relations, which would undoubtedly lead to the lessening of tension between them.

The two presidents laid emphasis on the preservation of stability and peace in the region, as well as on the promotion of good- neigborly relations among the Balkan countries. They agreed that friendly relations between Serbia, i.e. the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Greece, were an example of these developed relations, international understanding, and equal cooperation. Attention was drawn to the mutual interest of Serbia and Greece in the further consolidation of economic and other contacts, which were reaffirmed as an expression of closeness and friendship between our people.

The talks were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, the Serbian president's office reported.

Ministers Discuss U.S. Move

AU1711220894 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 94

[Report by Tamara Motrenko on statements made by Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Paopulias and FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic after talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic; in Belgrade on 17 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin recording] [Papoulias, in Greek, with superimposed translation by Motrenko] As head of Greek diplomacy and the entire Greek delegation, I have held very useful and important talks with President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic. We examined the situation that has emerged following the U.S. unilateral pullout from supervising the arms embargo against the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, as well as problems in our region caused by this situation.

[Motrenko] The head of Greek diplomacy Karolos Papoulias emphasized that Greece maintains the view that a peaceful solution to the problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is the only possible and valid one. As he said, Greece believes that the plan of the Contact Group and the international community is the basis for achieving peace in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Papoulias emphasized that Greece, as a EU member, remains steadfast on its position that diplomacy is the only basis for peace, but fears that there may be factors that would lead not only this region, but also Europe, astray.

I am returning to Athens, Papoulias stressed, encouraged by the talks with President Milosevic and I hope that peace in the region will vanquish all troubles and existing problems. The chief of Greek diplomacy recalled the activities that Greece has undertaken to this end as EU chairman and emphasized that peace in the Balkans, and especially in its heart, is of utmost importance for all the countries in the region.

Minister Papoulias expressed the hope that Prime Minister Papandreou will soon visit Yugoslavia and proclaimed that general efforts are underway in Europe to best resolve the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina diplomatically and with new Russian initiatives.

FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic emphasized the following:

[Jovanovic] Greece on this occasion supported the policy of peace pursued by Yugoslavia and its efforts to

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accomplish a normalization of relations and a political solution to problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

[Word indistinct] Greece also favors the international community's support—by abolishing the sanctions against Yugoslavia—for the protagonists of peace, and in this way facilitates the quicker development of the peace process and reaching an agreement on an overall political solution for the Yugoslav territory.

We also jointly concluded that our region needs peace, stability, and cooperation and not a continuation of crisis and instability. In this respect [word indistinct] friendly and developed relations between Yugoslavia and Greece serve as a useful example of good neighborly cooperation, which both countries would like to become the reality [words indistinct] all Balkan states. [end recording]

Papoulias 'Encouraged' by Talks

LD1711220094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 17 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias said after the meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Federal Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic this evening that Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou will visit Belgrade soon.

A Greek journalist asked Papoulias whether Papandreou will come to Belgrade "before or after President Milosevic's visit to Athens."

"I cannot answer that question. The president will decide that, but I can say that a visit to Belgrade is on Prime Minister Papandreou's agenda," the Greek foreign minister said.

Papoulias described as "very important" the talks with Slobodan Milosevic and Vladislav Jovanovic, which continued over the working dinner.

"We are returning to Athens tonight encouraged after this important meeting, and hoping that we will manage to achieve what we all wish for—peace in the region. Peace in the Balkans is a priority for Greece."

The Greek foreign minister said that this evening's talks focused on the situation "after the unilateral lifting of the embargo on the delivery of arms to the Bosnian Muslims by the United States."

"We shall continue to search for peace. We believe that the Contact Group's plan is a basis for achieving peace. However, some events are worrying us because they are threatening to jeopardize efforts to reach a peaceful solution."

Greek journalists reminded Papoulias that Greece was the initiator of a meeting between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and asked whether Athens is still insisting it should take place.

"I wouldn't say we insist on it, but this initiative must be viewed in the context of efforts aimed at reaching a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Of course, if Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman wish to meet, Greece would be the most ideal location for talks and for reaching an agreement."

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also assessed the talks this evening as very important, hinting that some other questions will also be tackled in the course of the working dinner, such as Zagreb-Knin relations.

"Greece has once again lent its support to the policy of peace conducted by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, paying tribute to all we are doing in order to reach a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis."

Jovanovic stressed that Greece advocates the abolition by the international community of the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and consequently supports the peace process.

"We agreed that we need a policy of cooperation and peace and not a policy of war," said Jovanovic.

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